SADDUCISMUS DEBELLATUS:

Or, A True

NARRATIVE

OF THE

SORCERIES and WITCHCRAFTS

EXERCIS'D

By the *DEVIL* and his *Instruments* upon Mrs. *Christian Shaw*, Daughter of Mr. *John Shaw*, of *Bargarran* in the County of *Renfrew* in the *West* of *Scotland*, from *Aug.* 1696 to *Apr.* 1697.

CONTAINING

The JOURNAL of her Sufferings, as it was Exhibited and Prov'd by the Voluntary CONFESSION of some of the *WITCHES*, and other Unexceptionable Evidence, before the Commissioners Appointed by the Privy Council of *Scotland* to Enquire into the same.

Collected from the Records.

Together with Reflexions upon *Witchcraft* in General, and the Learned Arguments of the *LAWYERS*, on both Sides, at the TRIAL of Seven of those Witches, who were Condemned: And some Passages which happened at their *Execution*.

JOB 2. 6. *And the Lord said unto Satan, behold he is in thy hand; but save his Life.*
MATH. 15. 22. *Have Mercy upon me, O Lord, thou Son of David; my Daughter is grievously vexed with a Devil.*
ROM. 19. 20. *And the God of Peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly.*

LONDON,
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providence]

THE PREFACE.

WISE Men do juſtly ſuſpect, and are hardly brought to believe, the Accounts of extraordinary Stories; eſpecially about Witchcraft: Becauſe the frequent Impoſtures which the Romaniſts have obtruded on the World in their Miracles and Legends; the many Relations of odd things as done by Dæmons or Wizards, which yet, were either falſe, or meerly the product of Natural Cauſes; the Ignorance of ſeveral Judges and Juries, who have condemned ſilly Creatures meerly upon their own Ridiculous Confeſſions, or other ſlender proof; and the difficulty of conceiving the Manner or Philoſophy, of ſome Operations and Appearances, tho undoubtedly true in Fact; are good prejudices againſt a Sudden belief, and may ſerve as precautions to make an Exact Inquiry into thoſe Matters before we believe them.

But they are Men of weak Souls, and deſtitute of cleer thoughts; who deny all, becauſe they have diſcovered Error in ſome; or condemn all Facts, as falſe, becauſe they know not how they came to exiſt: By the ſame rule of reaſoning they may argue that there are no *Enthuſiaſts*, becauſe the beſt Men have been ſometimes miſtaken for ſuch, and that there are no Criminals, becauſe ſeveral have been puniſhed that were not truly ſuch: Becauſe many Hiſtorys are fabulous, that there are none to be truſted: And that all the *Phænomena* in Nature, whoſe inviſible cauſes they cannot comprehend, are meer Deluſions.

The following Narrative, as to the truth of the matter of Fact, is the beſt atteſted piece of Hiſtory of this kind, that has occurr'd in many Ages: the moſt of the matters therein repreſented having gained the aſſent of private Scepticks; and been prov'd before publick Judges. So that its more ſurpriſing than Witchcraft it ſelf, that any Man ſhould ſeriouſly deny the Beeing of any ſuch thing, and from thence doubt the falling out of ſuch ſtrange Providences at a diſtance, when the certainty of the matter of Fact has diſpell'd all Objections in the places where they happened.

Many Authors have proved, at large, that there are Witches and Witchcrafts, from Reaſon, Scripture, Antiquity and the Experience of all Nations and Ages: And they have ſolved the difficultys which might obſtruct the belief of this poſitive proof, by *Hypotheſes* of Philoſophy: Where it's to be obſerved, that tho ſuch explications of the natural manner of Phenomena are ſubject to cavil, yet the exiſtence of a thing which has ſo certain and poſitive Evidence cannot be denyed in ſound Reaſoning; becauſe Angels and Men not being made for civil converſe together in this World, and all Communion with Devils being forbidden us, the Scripture needed to unfold little of their way of acting; and ſtill the next Age, may diſcover what this could not, as there have been thoſe things explain'd already in this Age which were thought unexplicable in the laſt.

Therefore ſuch a ſhort hint, as may ſomewhat Illuſtrate the Events in the ſubſequent diſcourſe, is ſufficient in the preſent Caſe: Eſpecially ſince Providence deſigns thoſe eminent occurrences, rather for our Practical Inſtruction, then for a ſubject of notional Speculation.

The Devil can aſſume a bodily Shape, and ſpeak to Man out of it: As he did to *Eve*, to our Saviour, and in ſome Heathen Oracles; to make Men capable of entring into Contract with him, for Satan is willing thus to enſure Mortalls of being Enemies to Heaven, to other Men, and to their own Salvation. The Inſatiable Itch that prying Wit have after hidden and curious Knowledge, the deſire of Honour, Revenge and of the knowledge of Secrets, in ſome who are Great in the World, the deſire of Riches, and many times likewiſe of Revenge in Worldlings and the poorer ſort of people, and the eager purſuit after the Enjoyment of Senſual

Pleasures by those that are Voluptuous, do by the just Judgment of God render all those sorts of Persons liable to his Tentations and easie to be prevail'd upon by his proposals to gratify them in those things which they seek after as their chief good. We see daily, how the Lusts of Criminals inflamed by Satan, divert their Horrour not only of Eternal and distant, but also of Temporal and imminent Torments; and Pervert those instincts of Nature which might otherwise frighten them from a surrender. But further, he commonly facilitates his Conquest over Witches, by decoying them gradually to his Lure, through the mediation of Others that are already embarrr'd with him, till they be sufficiently prepar'd for making an Explicite Transaction to obey him.

That accordingly he has *de facto* prevailed in making Sorcerers and Witches, appears from the Testimony of the Wisest and Best of Men in all Ages and Nations.

The Heathens, by Nature and Practice, discovering this truth, made Laws against *Malefico's* and *Mathematico's*, and some of the last (tho they assumed the name of an Art much encouraged by the Legislators; being known, under the pretext of that, to consult the Devil, as to the distinies of Men and States) were punish'd by the Senate and People of *Rome*. And even the *Persians*, in some good Reigns, did the like. In the Old Testament we have an account of the Magicians of *Egypt* and *Babylon*, who were baffled by *Moses* and *Daniel*; of *Balaam* and the Witch of *Endor*; and that *Jesabel*, *Manasseth*, and the ten Tribes were punished by just Judgments for their Sorceries and Witchcrafts amongst other Crimes; and there also we have an account of the Laws made against such, as distinct from those against other Criminals. The New Testament gives us an account of *Simon Magus* who bewitched the People of *Samaria*; of *Elimas* the Sorcerer that was struck blind at *Paul*'s Rebuke; of the *Pythoniss* who seems to have been possest by consent, because she was not Tormented, but got profit thereby; and of such as confessed, shewed their Deeds, and burnt their Books in *Ephesus*; which are all of 'em undeniable Instances of Witches and Witchcraft. There are also Propheses of False Christs with signes and wonders, able to deceive, if possible, the very Elect: General Councils have made Canons against those Wretches; and the experimental Knowledge of injured Mortalls in all Ages, with the publick Sentences of Courts of Judicature thereupon, are delivered down to us by all Historians.

Pet. Mamorius in his Book *de Lamiis*, gives us an account, that *Gulielmus Linensis*, a Popish Doctor, was justly put to Death tho he dyed Penitent, he having confessed Witchcraft, had the written Covenant with Satan in his Pocket, and own'd that his share of the Devils Service was to Preach and perswade people that Witches were only silly deluded Melancholians, and therefore their Confessions were no proof. His success in this work of Darkness was such, that the People and Judges did Slacken their procedure against those Miscreants, by which means the Witches were vastly multiply'd in a few Years, as we are told by the same Author, who gives an account of the whole Process, from authentick Records.

It is observ'd, that Satan has ofttimes chang'd his Scene in the different periods of time, and turned himself into such Shapes as he found most convenient for his purpose. So that the manner of his Apparition has been different, according to the state of the Times. Of old he appeared Devil like, and was worshiped as such by those that deprecated his Mischeif: as some of the barbarous *Indians* do to this day. In the darkness of Popery he was transformed into a more innocent sort of Spirit called *Brounie* or *Fairie*, (that pretended to fortell Deaths, to reveal the Deceaseds will, discover hidden Murders, and do other friendly Offices, *&c.* Which were subtile means of inducing people to rely on him) Those Spirits were then very frequent, he having the impudence thus to appear openly proportionably to the knowledge of Men, over whom his reign was so universal: And as Travellers and Authors inform us he continues to do so in the more Northerly Regions to this day. But since the Light of the Gospel has broke out in our Horison, he oftner works externally by Magicians and Witches, and internally on the lusts of Men, being now mostly restrain'd to his own Sphere or Subjects. Yet still he ensnares too many, partly by aping the Ordinances of God; especially as they are corrupted in the Romish Church, whence so many *Monks* and *Nuns*, as being well prepared to his hand, have been easily overcome by him. Thus he keeps publick Assemblys in the Night as things of extraordinary merit: They formally worship him by many mimical Gestures: He imprints on them a kind of Sacrament: He inflicts dreadful Penances on such as have not executed the commanded mischiefs: He teaches them odd word and signes, upon repeating of which Exor-

[illegible] the Operations agreed on beforehand.

But though what he does of himſelf, or by the Watch-word of Sorcerers or Witches, may, by collection, and an artful diſpoſal of Matter and Form; appear very ſurpriſing: Yet he cannot work againſt Nature; or overturn the Courſe of it; ſince that is only in the Power of its Author who alone can do true Miracles, or know immediatly the thoughts of Men. It is probable moreover that ſince the Fall Satans natural Power is below that of good Angels; and it is certain, that he is often baffled in his Deſigns by Providence: yet beyond all doubt he retains ſo much power as (being permitted by God) is ſufficient to bring about, by unſeen natural Means, moſt of the extraordinary Appearances, that the Generality of the Learned, have aſcribed to him: And particularly thoſe in the ſubſequent Narrative: Many of which, tho they are beyond the Efficiency of Diſeaſe, Deceit, or any viſible Cauſe; yet may be the Effects of ſome ſuch unperceived Means, as follow.

There is no difficulty in Satan's tranſmiting in a ſhort time an Account of Things which are paſt; ſince its known he goes to and fro in the Earth: Yea, he may have certainly foretold ſome future Events, as that of *Alexander*'s Succeſs againſt *Perſia*, &c. ſeeing he underſtands and may ſteal, the great Revolutions of the World out of the Prophets; wherein they are ſo graphicaſly deſcribed: Or he may diſcover his own Reſolutions whenever he is commiſſioned or permitted to execute a Judgment; as in the caſe of thoſe who, for ſeeking their Horoſcops, are given over to him by God; and thus he gave *Saul* an exact account of his own End by the *Philiſtines*. But without ſome ſuch aids Satan can only gueſs like a Phiſician by the Symptoms, or a Politician by the Criſis of States: which is the Cauſe that moſt of his Oracles are Ambiguous.

His tranſporting of Witches is elſewhere explained. He can raiſe *Hurricanes* (as appears in *Job*) which are known to carry very ponderous Bodies over great Tracts of Sea and Land. Its eaſy for him to Condenſe a part of the Vehicle; which may protect the Breathing and yet cut the Air, like the Fence of Dyvers, &c. the beak of a Sloop: In which alſo he affects the magnifying of his own natural Power, and to make his followers believe that it is no leſs then that of the good Angels, who tranſported *Ezekiel* and *Elijah* through the Air. His covering of the Witches from ſight, at ſome times, is alſo cleared, from the difficulties which ſeem to attend it, in another place of this Book: Where it appears very poſſible that his skill in *Opticks*, Reflection and Refraction of Light, &c. To which his Power and Agility as a Spirit Subminiſtrats Materials; may effect all that can be prov'd to be matter of Fact in that Caſe.

Glanvil, *More*, and others lay down another Hypotheſis in both, *viz.* That the Soul is ſeparable from the Body in ſome Caſes, without Death: When by God's Permiſſion, Satan with the parties Conſent, gets power over both Soul and Body; whereby he may carry away the one from the Helm of the other, and bring it back again into its Seat; provided the vital Spirits which make the Body a fit Receptacle, be well preſerved by Ointments, that conſtrict the Pores, till the return of its Gueſt: But Death enſues from a Separation when the Organs of the Body are rendred altogether unapt to obey the Soul's Commands in its Functions. If ſuch an opinion could be true, Satan might imploy this captivated Spirit to actuat any ſhape he thinks fit. But there needs not ſo much Metaphyſicks to unridle the Appearances of Witches in the ſhape of Beaſts, and the like: Since their real Perſons may be covered with a Vehicle; which by diſpoſal of the Rays comming from it, may deceive the Eyes by the ſame Impreſſions that come from the true ſight of ſuch things. His power of repreſenting another thing in lieu of that which is truly preſent; is ſo certain that it's found he may make up the Image or Reſemblance of Perſons who are not preſent at all: For it is not doubted but Spiritual Devils may ſometimes be permitted to repreſent by Phantoms the moſt innocent and praiſe-worthy Men, aſwell as Incarnate Devils, are ſuffered to traduce them. He that accuſeth the Brethren and imitats an Angel of light, may likeways perſonate the Children of Light by his Deluſions: Yet the Antecedents, Concomitants, and Conſequents, of ſuch providences, do generally diſcover the Falſhood; ſo as the juſt man, for the moſt part, ſhall not periſh in his Righteouſneſs, and God, in his ordinary Providence, will not laugh at the trial of the Innocent; tho ſometimes it falls out, that the Sons of Belial may ſwear away the life of an Innocent *Naboth*.

There are ſeveral other things of leſs difficult Explication. Particularly, the Devil, or Witches might have been heard in converſe by the Maid and not by Others; the ſame way as a ſound directed through a ſpeaking Trumpet reaches the Ears to which it is aimed without

diſperſing it ſelf towards thoſe that are not in a ſtreight line betwixt 'em. The confederate Devil may, upon the Witches deſire, infuſe poiſonous Humors, extracted from Herbs, of the ſame inviſible Operation with the Steem of Mad-dogs, or the Peſtilence; which being joyned to the rapid courſe of the Patient's own Spirits, Humors, and Blood, and Satan, by ingyring himſelf into them, may, through the natural Means of Pulſion, ſet 'em in ſuch a Career as may very well produce thoſe extraordinary Motions which are mentioned in the following Account. The Devils delight much in the Torture, or deſtruction, of young Children, out of Envy to Chriſt, who is tender of ſuch Little Ones; and becauſe the Crime is the greater the leſs the Patient has offended,or can reſiſt. They uſe, or make others to repeat, Scripture-words for gaining Credit, or alleviating the Terror, or to diſgrace the Word, by ſuch a Mock-uſe; as they did in the time of our Saviour,and therefore their Teſtimony was by him rejected.It's obſervable from many paſſages; that he haſtens, ſometimes, and effects the Diſcovery of Witches by his Malice againſt their preſent temporal Enjoyments, the uncertainty of their Continuance in his Service, and unſatiable Deſire for their full Ruine: Yet ſome of them, who are moſt maliciouſly bent, he thinks fit to keep here, as uſeful Inſtruments; and Providence permits others to Live, that by a wilful filling up the meaſure of their Wickedneſs, under the means of the Goſpel, they may be rendered finally inexcuſable.

As for thoſe, whom, in Secret Judgment, the Devil is permitted to Torment; but, in *Mercy*, not to overcome: He may be influenced thereunto by a deſign of Perverting them with Terror, whereof he is at laſt diſappointed: And it is likewiſe certain, that the Defacing of God's Image in *Man*, eſpecially in Deſpite of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who honoured that Nature by Aſſuming it, is his chief Delight: or he may be conſtrained to make ſuch ſtupendious Appearances againſt his Will (becauſe he's moſt ſucceſsful when he is leaſt known) for a viſible Teſtimony ſuperadded to the greater Goſpel-proofs, in groſs times, that there are Spirits, and a Devil to Torment Sinners, as it's obſervable that this was denied by Mr. *Aikenhead*, yet he died in full Conviction of it) by the Paſſages contain'd in the Enſuing *Narrative*: Or Providence may ſuffer things to fall out, that, though they be Intended by the Devil for an Inſtance of Malice; they may, by their Notoriety, be a *Means* of Promoting the Diſcovery, and bringing to Juſtice thoſe Miſcreants, whom he made uſe of as his Inſtruments; and who, perhaps, may have liv'd long in Rebellion againſt Heaven, and Deſtroying Mankind by Services of the ſame Nature, as fell out in the Caſe now in hand.

In the laſt place, God may permit ſuch things for the Magnifying of his own Grace, which was ſo Conſpicuous in Enabling this Young Girl to reſiſt the Fierce and Cunning Aſſaults of the Wicked One; and there is no doubt but the Devil himſelf hath the greateſt *Malice* againſt thoſe Countries or Perſons, over whom he perceives his Reign to be neareſt at an end.

There are many other Profitable Inſtructions that may be learnt from this Wonderful Providence, for ſuch Diſpenſations have their own *Language*, and the Man of Wiſdom ſhall ſee God's Name.

The uſe of Charmes for Men or Beaſts, certain Characters, Words, Verſes, and Spells: The obſervation of Times and Seaſons as Lucky, or Unlucky: The belief of having Succeſs by carrying about one ſome Herbs, Plants, or Branches of Trees: And many the like Superſtitions; which can have no natural Cauſality on the effects deſired, are the very Rudiments of Witchcraft, and an Implicite Application to the Devil for Vertues which God has deny'd to thoſe things: Whence they are to be abhorred as ſinful in themſelves, and Introductory to an explicit Engagement with the Devil. So,groſs Ignorance, prophane Looſneſs, ſtupid Forgetfulneſs of God, and neglect of his Worſhip in Cloſets and Families; Malice, Envy, Revenge, Diſcontent, oppreſſive fear of Want, and diſtruſtful anxiety of Spirit: And Laſtly, a Libidinous temper, Curſes, Imprecations, and ſinful Curioſity, are to be avoided, as paving the way to the ſame Miſchief.

Let none enveigh againſt a Profeſſion of Religion, becauſe ſome, under that ſpecious covert, have been found in League with the Devil. It's becauſe of the glorious Luſtre and Excellency of our Holy Faith that theſe *Miſcreants* paint themſelves with it; that they may be the leſs ſuſpected, and the more able ſubtilly to gain others, and do their Maſters Work: It was no ſtain on the Apoſtles that One of their Number had a Devil, was a Traitor and Cheat: Nor that Satan transformed himſelf into an Angel of Light, on Deſign that the good ways of the Lord may be evil ſpoken of.Neither let us be under a Slaviſh Fear and Terror of that Helliſh Tribe,in truckling to their Humor, leaſt they ſhould do Harm, which ſavours of Worſhiping and Paying

Homage to the *Devil*; whereas we ought only to make the Lord of Hosts our Fear and our Dread.

There is no just ground to reflect on particular Persons or Families, upon account of such Troubles. For no Man knoweth either Love or Hatred by all that's before them: All things happen alike to all: We must not suppose, that these were Sinners above all the *Galileans*, or above all that dwelt in *Jerusalem*: The infinite wise God may thus Try our Faith, Patience, and Christian Fortitude. *Job* and our Saviour were Assaulted; and Seven Devils cast out of *Mary Magdalen*, a Chosen Vessel. A Daughter of *Abraham* was bound by Satan for Eighteen years; and his Messenger was sent to Buffet the Great Apostle of the Gentiles. The Woman of *Canaan*, *Matth.* 15. 22. And the godly Man, *Mark* 9. 24. had their neareſt Relations vext in this manner: And blessed be the Lord that he has left such Instances on Record for Prevention of stumbling; though it must be confessed, that the same Charity which judges well of all things, cannot but alter its Remark when its proof is sufficiently clear from the way in which the Person affected did formerly walk, since Presumptions do always yield to Truth, and Lawyers have a Maxim, that in *re clara non est locus conjecturis*.

The *Deaf Adder* that stops her Ears at the Charming Voice of a Sun-shine Gospel, will, one way or other, fall into the Charms of Satan, or his Instruments: When Men will have none of Christ, he gives them up to their own Lusts, and the power of their Spiritual Adversary; as, when *Israel* had forsaken their God, he gave them up to Worship the Host of Heaven. What holy Caution, and pious Use of our Baptismal Covenant, ought we to make, as the best *Amulets* against being either Enticed by the attempts of his Instruments. But how much ought we to be humbled? And how great diligence ought to be used in the discovery of so many hidden *Achans* that are in the Camp of *Israel*? Yet *Poverty*, *Age*, the *Features*, yea, Ill *Fame*, or the like slender grounds, which could not be worthy of being represented to a Magistrate; ought not to move us to Suspition, much less to defame: Since Charity hopes all things, and we ought to do to others, as we would be done by.

These things we doubt not will meet with a very different Reception, especially in this unhappy Age and place of the World, where *Britain* may be termed the Unfortunate Island; *Africk* never having been more fertile in the production of *Monsters*: since its observ'd, that through all the Successions of Men, there was never before any Society, or Collective Body of *Atheists* till these dreggs of time; though there might have been here and there some mishapen Births. But Wisdom is Justify'd of her Children, and it's the Season for *Sampson* to awake when *Dalilah* gives the Alarum, that the *Philistines* are upon him. What *Peace*, so long as the *Whoredomes* of *Jezebel* and her Witchcrafts are so many. But good things are hoped of our *Magistrates*, who have already so happily begun.

The Apostle said of *Job*'s Tryals, ye have heard of the patience of *Job*, and have seen the *End of the Lord*. So, in this *Narrative*, you have a Deplorable Account of this *Maids* Dreadful Fits, and of the Powers of Darkness that combind together, not only for the ruining of her Body; but also for murdering her Soul. In the mean time the hearts of many were bleeding for her, and much Application was made to God in her behalf: Divers *Solemn Fasts* were observed, both in her Fathers Family, in the Parish, and throughout the Bounds of the Presbitry, and else-were; her Case was expresly minded in Publick addresses to the Throne of Grace, till at length there was a General Fast Religiously kept in most parts of the *Synod*, that God might give an effectual Check to *Satan*'s Rage and Dominion in the Countrey. Boasting of Prayers is to be abhorred; yet it is our Duty, with all Gratitude, to Acknowledge God to be the hearer of Prayer, and to Proclaim to the World the Excellency of them upon this very occasion: For he hath not turned away his Ear from us; it being the comfortable result of this History, that the Girl hath been perfectly well for many months: so that we may well say, that she is a *Brand plucked out of the Fire*; and the Instruments wherewith the Witches thought to have destroyed her, have fallen upon some of their own heads.

The Devil could not enter the Herd of *Swine*, nor touch one Hair of *Job*'s Head, without Permission from him whose Kingdom Ruleth over all: Whence it appears, that tho our Enemies be Indefatigable and Invisible, yet we are under the Conduct of a Watchman who neither slumbers nor sleeps; to whom Darkness and Light are both alike; and Greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the World: So that unless we wilfully forfeit our Priviledge, there is no fear of our being able to resist the Wicked one; since neither Angels, Principalities, nor Powers, shall be able to *separate* us from the Love which is in Christ Jesus our Lord: And

though

though no Argument can be drawn from any merit in us, yet we ſhall carry the day againſt all the *Militia of Hell*, under the *Captain of our Salvation.*

It will not be a natural ſturdineſs of temper, nor a formal mentioning of the Name of God or Chriſt, that can ſhelter us from thoſe Devourers, as appears by the Seven Sons of *Sceva*, *Acts* 19. They wreſtle moſt ſucceſsfully againſt Principallities and Powers, who fight upon their Knees, by Prayer; this is the true way of reſiſting the Devil, ſo as to make him flee from us.

If Satan's Poſſeſſion of Bodies be ſo great a Plague, how much worſe is it to have him reign *Maſter* of our Souls? Wherefore let us Watch and Pray againſt every ſin, the leaſt of which is more pleaſing to him, and worſe to us then to be Tormented Bodily.

If *Satan*, as a Spirit, can Inſinuate himſelf into our Humours, it is no wonder, if, by having ſuch an advantage of our Temper, he influence the Flegmatick Perſon to Sloth, the Cholerick to Anger, the Sanguine to Luſt and ſinful Pleaſure, the Melancholick to Deſpair, *&c. So that they that think they ſtand, have need to take heed leaſt they fall*: And to Pray, that the Watchman of *Iſrael* may make an Hedge about them and their Houſe, and about all that they have on every ſide.

Let this not only rouze our Diligence, and ſtir up our Gratitude, for not being afflicted in the ſame manner; but let it alſo raiſe up our Admiration and Love of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who hath freed our *Souls* and *Bodies* from the power and ſlavery of *Satan*: And finding our ſelves too weak to reſiſt thoſe deluding Pleaſures which occaſion our being deſerted by God, and given up to this fearful Thraldom; let us run to the *Rock of Ages* for protection and ſupport, our ſufficiency being only in God.

Seeing Devils take ſo much pains to contract for the Souls of Witches; the Saducee's tho judicially blinded in their Reaſon, are hereby rendred inexcuſable by very ſenſe; ill Books, which corrupt and enſnare curious Fancies, who are ſeldom endow'd with accurate Judgments, ought to be reſtrain'd: As alſo ſuch ridiculous Pamphlets, as no doubt by the Inſtigation of Satan, have lately been ſent abroad, deſignedly to fruſtrat any good uſe which might be made of ſuch extraordinary Providences as theſe contained in the enſueing Narrative. The Authors of thoſe Pamphlets having either forged other ſubjects or diſguiſed this.

The Publication of this Narrative has been delayed ſo long, partly, that there might be the more narrow Scrutiny made into the Matters of Fact; and partly, by ſome Accidents which did retard it. The Reader is not to expect any Accuracy of Stile; becauſe the deſigned brevity occaſion'd the wraping up of much Matter in few words; naked and Exact Truth in every Circumſtance being our chief Aim.

THE

THE NARRATIVE.

ABout the end of *Auguſt* One Thouſand Six Hundred Ninety Six, *Chriſtian Shaw*, Daughter to *John Shaw* of *Bargarran* Gent. in the Pariſh of *Erskine* and County of *Renfrew*; a ſmart lively and well inclin'd Girl, of about Eleven Years of Age, perceiving one of the Maids of the Houſe, named *Catharine Campbel*, to ſteal ſome Milk, ſhe told her Mother of it; whereupon the ſaid Maid (being a young Woman of a *proud* and *revengeful* Temper, and much addicted to *Curſing*, *Swearing* and *Purloining*) did, in a mighty Rage, imprecate the *Curſe of GOD* three times upon the Child; and at the ſame time did thrice utter theſe horrid words, *The Devil harle* (that is *Drag*) *your Soul thro' Hell.* This paſt on *Munday*, *Auguſt* 17. in preſence of ſeveral Witneſſes, who afterwards gave Evidence of it.

Upon the *Friday* following, being *Auguſt* 21. about Sun-riſing, one *Agnes Naiſmith*, an old ignorant Woman, of a *Malicious* Diſpoſition, addicted to *Threatnings*, (which ſometimes were obſerved to be followed with fatal Events) came to *Bargarran*'s Houſe; where finding the ſaid *Chriſtian Shaw* in the Court with her younger Siſter, ſhe ask'd *How the Lady and young Child did*, and how old the young ſucking Child was? to which *Chriſtian* replied, *What do I know?* Then *Agnes* ask'd, *How ſhe her ſelf did, and how old ſhe was?* to which ſhe anſwered, that *ſhe was well, and in the eleventh Year of her Age.*

On the *Saturday*-night after, being *Auguſt* the 22. The ſaid *Chriſtian Shaw* went to Bed in good health; but aſſoon as ſhe fell aſleep, began to ſtruggle and cry, *Help*, *Help*: And then ſuddenly got up, and did fly over the top of a bed where ſhe lay, to the great Aſtoniſhment of her Parents and others in the Room, with ſuch violence, that probably her Brains had been daſht out, if a Woman, providentially ſtanding by, had not broke the force of the Childs motion; ſhe was afterwards laid in another Bed, and remained ſtiff and inſenſible as if ſhe had been dead, for the ſpace of half an Hour; and for Forty eight Hours after could not ſleep, crying out of violent Pains thorow her whole Body, and no ſooner began to ſleep or turn drowſie but ſeemed greatly affrighted, crying ſtill *Help*, *Help*.

After this a pain fixt in her left Side, and her Body was often ſo bent and ſtiff, that ſhe ſtood like a Bow on her Feet and Neck at once, and continued without power of Speech, except in ſome very ſhort intervals, for eight days; during which time, ſhe had ſcarce half an hours intermiſſion together, the Fits taking her ſuddenly, and coming on and going off by a Swoon, or ſhort Deliquium, but ſhe appeared perfectly well and ſenſible betwixt whiles.

About the middle of *September* her Fits returned, in a manner *differing* from the former, wherein ſhe ſeemed to fight and ſtruggle with ſomething that was inviſible to the Spectators; and her Actions appear'd as if ſhe had been defending her ſelf from ſome who were Aſſaulting, or Attempting to hurt her, and this with ſuch Force, that Four ſtrong Men were ſcarcely able to hold her; and when any of the People preſent touch't any part of her Body, ſhe Cry'd out with ſuch vehemence, as if they had been killing her, but could not ſpeak.

When ſhe was ſeized with thoſe Fits, her Parents ſent to *Paſley*, for *John Whyte* an Apothecary, their near Relation, and afterwards for Dr. *Johnſton*; who order'd her to be let Blood, and Apply'd ſeveral Things to her, without any diſcernable Effect: All the while of theſe later Fits ſhe was afflicted with extraordinary Riſings and Fallings in her Belly, like the Motion of a pair of Bellows; and with ſuch ſtrange Movings of her Body, as made the Bed ſhe lay on to ſhake.

Some

Some days after she was able to Speak during her Fits, and Cried, that *Katharine Campbel and Agnes Naſmith were cutting her ſide, and other parts of her Body*; Which were at that time Violently Tormented: And when the Fit was over she ſtill Aſſerted, *That ſhe had ſeen thoſe Perſons doing the things which ſhe complained of in her Fit*; (it being obſervable, that in the Intervals, she was ſtill as well and ſenſible as ever) and could not believe but that other Perſons preſent ſaw them as well as she: In this condition she continued with no conſiderable variation, either as to the Fits or Intervals, for the ſpace of a Month.

After which she was carried to *Glaſgow*, where Doctor *Brisbane*, an able Phyſician, order'd Mr. *Henry Marſhall*, Apothecary, to prepare Medicines for her; So that having ſtayed in *Glaſgow* about Ten days, she was brought home to her Father, and had near a Fortnights Intermiſſion. But then her Fits returned, with this difference, that she knew when they were coming, by a Pain in her Left-Side: And in theſe Fits her Throat was prodigiouſly drawn down toward her Breaſt, and her Tongue back into her Throat; her whole Body becoming ſtiff, and extended as a Dead Corpſe, without ſenſe or motion: and ſometimes her Tongue was drawn out of her mouth over her Chin, to a wonderful length, her Teeth cloſing ſo faſt upon it, that thoſe about her were forced to thruſt ſomething betwixt, for ſaving her Tongue. And it was often obſerved, that her Tongue was thus Tortured when she attempted to *Pray*. In this condition she was for ſome time, with ſenſible Intervals, wherein she had perfect health, and could give a full account of what she was heard to utter while in her Fits. Her Parents reſolved to carry her again to *Glaſgow*, for the greater conveniency of being under the Doctors Inſpection and Care, and for the further diſcovering the Nature of her Diſtemper, and making uſe of the moſt probable Natural Remedies. But being on her way thither, in her Grand-mothers Houſe at *Northbar*, she thruſt, or ſpit out of her mouth parcels of Hair, ſome curled, ſome plaited, ſome knotted, of different Colours, and in large quantities: And thus she continued to do, with ſeveral fainting Fits every quarter of an hour, both in her paſſage to *Glaſgow*, *Nov.* 12. And after she arrived there, for the ſpace of Three dayes;

then from *Munday* to *Thurſday* following, ſhe put out of her mouth Coal-ſinders about the bigneſs of *Cheſnuts*, ſome of 'em ſo hot, that they could ſcarely be handled, as Dr. *Birsbane* Witneſſes in his Atttеſtation. Then for the ſpace of Two days, in her Swooning-fits, there came out of her mouth great Numbers of Straws, by one at a time, folded up, but when out return'd to their Natural Shape; and it was obſervable, that in one of them there was a Pin: After this there iſſued out of her mouth Bones of various ſorts and ſizes, and then ſome ſmall Sticks of Candle-firr (a ſort of Firr in this Countrey that burns like a Candle) one of 'em about Three or four Inches long; which, when any attempted to pull out, they found them either held by her Teeth, fix'd upon them, or forcibly drawn back into her Throat; particularly *Archibald Bannatine* of *Kellie*, Junior; obſerving a bone in her mouth, like that of a Duck's Leg, and eſſaying to pull it out, he declared he found ſomething drawing it back into her Throat; ſo that it required a deal of ſtrength to pull it out. It is to be obſerv'd, that hitherto ſhe knew not how theſe things were brought into her mouth, and when they were pulled out, ſhe immediately recover'd of her fit for that time. After this there came out of her mouth ſome quantity of Hay, intermix'd with Dung, as if it had been taken out of a Dunghil; which ſtunck ſo, that the Damſel could not endure the Taſt and Smell of it, but was forc'd to waſh her mouth with Water. Then for a days ſpace ſhe put out of her mouth a Great number of Feathers of Wild-fowl; after that a Stone, which, in the Judgment of Beholders, had been paſſed by ſome Perſon in a Fit of the Stone; with ſome ſmall white Stones, and a whole Nut-gall (with which they uſe to Dye Cloath and make Ink) alſo lumps of Candle greaſe, and Egg-ſhells: Of all which there were many Witneſſes.

When the Sticks above-mention'd came out of her mouth, ſhe foretold that ſhe was to be grievouſly Tormented with ſore Fits that Night, which accordingly fell out: For a little after, ſhe fell into a Swoon, wherein ſhe had no uſe of her Senſes: and though the Spectators called to her aloud, and moved her Body, and Mr. *Bannatin* above-named, gave her a very ſore Pinch in the Arm, ſhe was not ſenſible of it. After

ſhe

ſhe recover'd from the Swoon, but continuing in her Fit, ſhe fell a reaſoning with *Katharine Campbel* after this manner, "Thou ſit'ſt there with a Stick in thy Hand to "put in my Mouth; but thorow God's ſtrength thou "ſhalt not get leave: Thou art permitted to Torment "me; but I truſt in God, thou ſhalt never get my Life, tho "it's my Life thou deſign'ſt. *And calling for a Bible and* "*Candle, ſaid,* come near me *Kate,* and I'll let thee ſee where "a godly Man was given up to Satan to be Tormented: But "God kept his Life in His own hand: And ſo I truſt in "God, thou ſhalt never get my Life, and all that thou ſhalt "be permitted to do unto me, I hope thorow God's mercy, "ſhall turn to my Advantage. This Man was Rob'd of All, "and Tormented in Body, and had nothing left him but an "ill Wife. Come near me *Kate,* and I'll read it to thee. "*And reading that Paſſage of* Job, *when ſhe came to the place* "*where his Wife ſaid to him* Curſe God and Dy, *the Damſel* "*conſidering theſe words alittle, ſaid*; O! what a Wife was "this, that bid her Husband *Curſe God and Dy?* ſhe who "ſhould have been a comfort to him in his Trouble, turned a "Croſs to him? *Then after reading of the Chapter to the end, ſhe lookt towards the foot of the Bed and ſaid.* "Now *Kate,* "what think'ſt thou of that? Thou ſeeſt, for all the power "the Devil got over *Job* he gain'd no Ground on him; and "I hope he ſhall gain as little on me. Thy Maſter the Devil "deceives thee, he is a bad Maſter whom thou ſerv'ſt, and "thou ſhalt find it to thy Sorrow, except thou Repenteſt; "there is no Repentance to be had after Death: I'll let "thee ſee *Kate,* there is no Repentance in Hell, *And turning over the Book citeing* Luke, Chap. 16. *near the latter end, and reading the ſame ſaid,* "*Kate* thou ſeeſt, there is no Repent-"ance in Hell, for this Rich Man beſought *Abraham* to teſtify "to his five Brethren, that they come not to the place "of Torment, where he was; but Repent and turn to the "Lord, for there is no getting out if once they come there; "now *Kate,* thou hear'ſt this, what think'ſt thou of it? I'll "let thee hear another place, which ſhould pierce thy very "Heart, *And turning over the Book ſaid, ſhe would read about* "Adam *and* Eve, thou know'ſt *Kate,* the Serpent (the Devil

"thy

" thy Maſter) thought to have ruined Mankind at the be-
" ginning, his Malice was ſo great at that bleſſed State where-
" in they were, ſeeing himſelf caſt down from all hopes of
" Mercy, he uſed all means poſſible to ſubvert their happineſs,
" by ſuggeſting to them fair Promiſes, and a proſpect of Ad-
" vantage in cauſing them to Eat of that forbidden Fruit;
" and were made Subject to God's Curſe for ever: But
" God did not ſuffer them to remain in this Condition, but
" of his infinit Mercy ſhewed to them a better way whereby
" they might have Life Eternal by revealing to them that
" bleſſed Promiſe, *the Seed of the Woman ſhall bruiſe the Head*
" *of the Serpent.* Now *Kate* what think'ſt thou of that
" Promiſe? But obſerve this, thou'lt get no Advantage by
" it, it's not made to thee, who haſt renounced God's Service,
" and Liſted thy ſelf under the Devil; thou art his Slave,
" thou deny'ſt this; but I know thou art a Hypocrite; for
" I remember, when thou waſt in my Mothers Houſe, thou
" boughteſt a Catechiſm upon a pretence to learn to Read,
" to cloak thy Sin: Wilt thou hear me? know'ſt thou the
" reward of the Hypocrit? I'll let thee hear it; I remember
" Mr. *William Gillies* was Lecturing the other day upon the
" 23 of *Mathew*, where many a wo is pronounced againſt
" the Hypocrit, Eight dreadful Wo's here *Kate*, and ſome
" of them belongs to thee: But I'll tell thee more, know'ſt
" thou the reward of the Hypocrit they ſhall be caſt into the
" Lake that burns for ever, that's their Portion; do'ſt thou
" hear this now? Thou turn'ſt thy Back to me, when I am
" telling thee truth; if I were reading a Story-Book, or
" telling a Tale to thee, thou would'ſt hear that. Remember
" it will be thy Portion too, if thou do not Repent, and
" Confeſs, and ſeek Mercy. *Again turning over the Book, ſhe*
read about Pilat, *ſaying*; " *Pilat* he made a ſhew of cleanſing
" himſelf of Chriſt's Blood, he waſh'd his Hands and declar'd
" himſelf Innocent; but for all his waſhing he had a foul
" Heart, he would not looſe his Office for the ſaving of
" Chriſt's Life: He knew well enough that Chriſt was an
" innocent Perſon; but he perferred his Honour before Chriſt;
" Therefore to pleaſe the *Jews*, and to quench the ſtrugling
" in his Conſcience, he waſht his hands, and then delivered

" Chriſt

" Chriſt to be Crucified by them. Thus ſhe continued for more then two Houns ſpace; reaſoning at this Rate, and exhorting her to Repent, quoting many places of Scripture, in the Revelations and Evangeliſts. And when any one offered to take her Bible from her, ſhe uttered dreadful Schreeks and Out-crys, ſaying, *She would never part with her Bible as long as ſhe liv'd, ſhe would keep it in ſpight of all the Devils.*

Before we paſs from this it will be needful to give the Reader notice of ſome few things. 1. That while ſhe call'd for her Bible and a Candle, ſhe neither heard nor ſaw any of thoſe Perſons who were then actually and diſcernably preſent in the Room with her, and that *Katharine Campbel* to whom ſhe directed her ſpeech was not diſcernably preſent to any Body but her ſelf. And the pinch Mr. *Bannatine* gave her in her inſenſible fit, ſhe complain'd of afterward, but knew not how ſhe came by it, nor did ſhe blame any of her tormentors for it. 2. That theſe words ſet down as ſpoke by her, were the very ſame both for words and order as nearly as they could be gathered and remembred by the hearers, without any addition of their own. 3. That altho ſhe was a Girl of a pregnant Spirit above her age, knew much of the Scriptures, and had a pretty good underſtanding, above what might be expected of one of her years, of the fundamental principles of Religion; yet we doubt not but in ſo ſtrong a Combat, the Lord did by His good Spirit graciouſly afford her a more then ordinary meaſure of Aſſiſtance.

Sometime after the traſh above-mentioned iſſued out of her mouth ſhe fell into extream violent fits, with lamentable out-crys, four Perſons being hardly able to hinder her from Climbing up the Walls of the Chamber, or from doing her ſelf hurt, in the mean time ſhe had no power to ſpeak, her back and the reſt of her Body was grievouſly pained, and in this condition ſhe continued four or five days with the uſual intervals: During which ſhe declared, that four men, *Alexander* and *James Anderſon*, and other two (of whom ſhe gave particular and exact marks, but knew not their names) were tormenting her. It was obſerv'd, that many of thoſe ſhe named were known to be Perſons of ill fame, as were theſe

two

two Persons last mention'd: It is also remarkable, that for some time she knew not the name of the said *Alexander Anderson*, till one day that he came a begging to the door of the house, where she was, then she immediatly cryed out, *that was he whom she had seen among the Crew.*

After this she fell into other Fits, wherein she saw the Persons before-named, with some others, and heard and saw several things that past among them. Particularly, she sometimes foretold when she was to have the fits, and how often she should have them, (which fell out accordingly.)

About the Eighth of *December*, being brought home again from *Glasgow*, and having had six or seven days respite from her Fits, she fell into a frightful and terrible Relapse: The occasion whereof she declar'd to be, her seeing the Devil in Prodigious and Horrid Shapes, threatning to devour her; she would fall down dead, and became stiff, with all the parts of her Body stretcht out, like a Corpse, without sense or motion; those Fits came suddenly, without her knowledge, and she did as suddenly recover and grow perfectly well; and they usually came on her when she offer'd to Pray: Sometimes she knew when the other Fits were a coming, how long they would continue, and when they would return: In which Fits her eyes alter'd strangely, and turned in her head, to the Admiration of the Spectators, with a continual Pain about her Heart; sometimes her Joynts were contracted together, and her Forehead drawn forcibly about toward her Shoulders; these Fits she took by falling into a Swoon, and would instantly recover in the same manner. During this time her Fits alter'd again, as to their Times of Coming, and Continuance, in which she sometimes endeavour'd to bite her own fingers, or any thing else that came in her way; she did the like when she saw the Persons before-mentioned, or any one of them about her, she would Point out where they were to the People with her, but they could not see them; and sometimes she declared, that she had hold of them by their Cloaths. Particularly, *December* 17. being in a sore Fit, she cry'd out of several Persons that were Tormenting her; and being in the Bed, grasped with her hands towards the Foot of it, and cry'd out, that she had catched hold of the sleeves

of

of one *J. P's.* Jerkin (or Jacket) which was, as ſhe ſaid, ragged at the Elbows: And, at that very time, the Damſels Mother and Aunt heard the ſound of the rending or tearing of a Cloth, but ſaw nothing, only they found in each of the Girles hands a bit of Red Cloth, which lookt as if it had been torn off of a Garment; of which kind of Cloth there was none in the Room, nor in any part of the Houſe: At the ſame time ſhe told them, there was ſuch an one among the Crew going to Pinch her Tongue, which was thereupon inſtantly pull'd back into her Throat, and ſhe lay Dumb for a conſiderable ſpace. Sometimes after her Recovery from her Fits, ſhe told that ſhe heard ſeveral things ſpoken by her Tormentors, but durſt not make them known, becauſe they threatned to Torment her more if ſhe did; and accordingly when her Mother or others prevailed with her to tell them any thing, ſhe was inſtantly tormented. She added that her Tormentors appear'd to her uſually with Lights and ſtrange ſorts of Candles, which were frightful to look on.

Thus ſhe continued till the firſt of *January*, 1697. in ſuch fits as before-mention'd with ſome alterations, and had likewiſe other ſwooning Fits, wherein ſhe continued for two or three hours together, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, with very ſhort Intervals, in which Fits ſhe did not complain much of pain; but had a great palpitation in her breaſt, and ſometimes ſtrange and unaccountable motions in other parts of her Body, which continued in a greater or leſſer degree during the whole time of the Fit, wherein ſhe was ſomewhat light-headed, and not ſo ſolid in her mind as at other times; tho in the Intervals of theſe, as of all other fits ſhe was compoſed enough, and theſe Fits, as all the reſt, came ſuddenly on and went as ſuddenly off by a Swoon.

Before we proceed any further it is fit to obſerve, 1. That *Agnes Naiſmith* before-mentioned, being brought by the Parents a ſecond time to ſee the Girl, did (without being deſired) pray *that the Lord God of Heaven and Earth might ſend the Damſel her health and diſcover the truth:* After which, the Child declared that tho the ſaid *Agnes* had formerly been very troubleſome to her; yet, from that time forward ſhe did no more appear to her, as her Tormentor; but as

ſhe thought defended her from the fury of the reſt. 2. That *Katharine Campbel*, before-mentioned, could by no means be prevailed with to pray for the Damſel, but on the contrary curſed them and all the Family of *Bargarren*, and in particular the Damſel and all that belonged to her, with this grievous Imprecation; *The Devil let her never grow better, nor any concern'd in her be in a better condition then ſhe was in, for what they had done to her.* Which words ſhe ſpoke before diverſe credible Witneſſes. 3. That *Bargarren* having prevailed with the under Sheriff to impriſon the ſaid *Katharine Campbel*, ſhe never after appear'd to the Damſel, (tho formerly ſhe was one of her moſt violent Tormentors) except once or twice, when it was found upon enquiry, that ſhe was not in the Priſon, but either in the Jaylors houſe, or when ſhe had liberty to go to Church. 4. That at the time when the Damſel voided at her mouth the hair and other traſh as above related, *Katharine Campbel* being taken into cuſtody, there was found in her pocket a ball of hair of ſeveral colours, which being thrown into the Fire the Child from that time forward vomited no more hair, ſhe declared that ſhe heard her Tormentors ſay that *Katharine Campbel* made the Ball, of the hair cut off of *Chriſtians* head when her trouble began.

Upon the firſt day of *January* about ten a clock at night, ſhe ſwoon'd and fell into Fits differing from the former, in that, after her ſwooning was over ſhe lay ſtill as if ſhe had been dead, yet at the ſame time ſhe was heard talking mournfully with a low Voice, and repeating ſeveral Storys in meeter, which they thought to be an account of the Riſe and Progreſs of her own trouble; and thus ſhe continued (naming ſome of the forementioned Perſons at times) till her Parents and others offered to Rouze her, by Touching and Moving her Body, whereupon ſhe uttered horrid Shreeks, and cry'd as if ſhe had been pierced thorow with Swords, and aſſaulted for her Life. After this ſhe fell a Singing, Leaping and Dancing for a long time, laughing with a loud Voice, in an unuſual manner, tearing down the Hangings of the Bed, and pulling off her Head-cloaths; in which Extravagances ſhe was acted with ſuch Force and Strength that her

her Father and the Miniſter tho joyning their whole Strength, could not hinder her from Dancing and Leaping. But after Prayer, the Miniſter finding her Compoſed, enquired if ſhe remembered what ſhe had done in the time of the Fit; to which ſhe reply'd, That ſhe diſtinctly remembered her miſcariages, and in particular her Singing and Dancing, adding, that the Witches encloſed her in a Ring (or Circle) and Dancing and Singing about her, was the occaſion of her Dancing, which ſhe then gladly performed with the reſt. For ſome days after ſhe had Fits much after the ſame manner, with ſome ſmall variation: In one of 'em ſhe tore off her Head-cloaths, and would have ſtript her ſelf of all her Cloaths if ſhe had been permitted.

About the Eleventh of *January*, ſhe fell into Fits different from the former, in which ſhe was carried away from her Parents and others that were about her, with a ſudden flight, and the firſt time (to their great amazement) thorow the Chamber and Hall down a long winding Stair towards the Tower-gate, with ſuch a ſwift and unaccountable motion, that it was not in the power of any to prevent her, her Feet did not touch the Ground, ſo far as any of the Beholders could diſcern; and as ſhe went ſhe was heard to laugh in an unuſual manner: But by Divine Providence the Gate being ſhut, her motion was ſtopt till ſuch time as ſome of the Family could overtake her, who endeavouring to carry her back, ſhe immediatly fell down and became ſtiff like a dead Corps, and being brought back to her Chamber, lay ſo for a conſiderable ſpace: upon her recovery ſhe declar'd, that there were about Nine or Ten Perſons who carried her away as if ſhe had been in a Swing, wherein ſhe then took pleaſure, her Feet not at all touching the Ground, to her apprehenſion.

The Night following ſhe was ſuddenly carried away, as before, from her Parents and others thro the Chamber and Hall, and ſixteen large ſteps of a winding Stair towards the top of the Houſe, where ſhe met with Apparitions of ſtrange and unaccountable things, but was carried down again as ſhe thought in a ſwing by ſix Women and four Men towards the the Gate, where ſhe was found, and thence carried up as formerly with all the parts of her Body diſtended and ſtiff

like one dead; ſhe lay ſo for ſome time, and when recover'd, declared, that both then and before, ſhe had endeavoured to open the Gate, and that thoſe ſhe ſaw about her helped her, with a deſign to get her to the Court to drown her in the Well, which ſhe heard them ſay they intended to do, and that then the World would believe ſhe had deſtroyed her ſelf. It is obſervable that in one of theſe fits afterwards, ſhe was ſtopt at the Gate, tho it was not bolted nor lock'd, yet the Providence of God order'd it ſo that neither ſhe nor her Tormentors could open it ſo that they left her there as uſual.

Before we proceed further, it is fit to take notice that as ſoon as the Damſels affliction was obſerv'd to be extraordinary and preternatural there was (beſides former private Prayers and Faſts by the Family) at the deſire of the Parents and Miniſter of the Pariſh, and by the Presbytries ſpecial order, a Miniſter or two appointed to meet one day every Week to joyn with the Family, the Miniſter of the Pariſh and other good Chriſtians of the Neighbourhood, in Faſting and Praying. And on the 12*th.* of *January* it being the turn of Mr. *Patrick Simpſon* a Neighbouring Miniſter to be there; when he came he found the Miniſter of the Pariſh, and the other who was to joyn with him abſent upon Neceſſary Occaſions, yet reſolved to carry on the Work with the aſſiſtance of three Elders and ſome other good People that were preſent. When he firſt ſaw the Damſel he found her under ſome leſſer Fits which came and went off quickly: ſhe was quiet and ſober during Prayer, but in time of ſinging the 93 *Pſalm* ſhe fell into a ſore Fit, of greater continuance, firſt Laughing, then making a ſound like Singing, after that pulling her head-Cloathes over her Face, and laſtly turning ſo outragious in her Motions that her Father could ſcarce hold her till the Fit abated: After her Recovery ſhe was quiet and compoſed all the time of Prayer, and while the Miniſter Lectur'd on *Mark* 9. from 14. *verſe* to the 30. was very Attentive, carefully looking for the Scriptures quoted, and ſo continued till the Religious exerciſe was ended, and ſometime after, when ſhe acquainted the Company that ſhe had ſomething to tell which ſhe heard ſome among her Tormenters

menters ſay, but durſt not reveal it; upon which the Miniſter and her Mother urg'd her to be free and not to obey the Devil, but before ſhe got a Sentence fully pronunced in her Mothers Ear, ſhe fell into a violent Fit, ſo as her Mother and others could ſcarcely hold her till the Violence thereof began to abate, and then her Mother told the Company that ſhe was ſpeaking of a Meeting and a Feaſt her Tormentors had ſpoken of in the Orchard of *Bargarran*, but was able to ſay no more. After her Recovery, her Mother deſir'd her to tell the reſt of it, and ſhe began again to Wiſper in her Ear, but could not get one word uttered till ſhe was ſeiz'd again with a Fit, as violent as the former, whereupon the Miniſter deſired them to forbear troubling her any further. But it was obſerved afterwards that *Elizabeth Anderſon*, *James Lindſay* and *Thomas Lindſay*, three of thoſe that tormented her confeſſed that they and others had a meeting in the Orchard at that time, tho neither of 'em knew what the Girl had ſaid, or what the others had confeſſed concerning it.

A little after this, ſhe was again ſuddenly carried from them down a Stair, which goes off from a Corner of the Chamber to a Celler juſt below it, whether her Brother and Siſter were providentially gone a little before, to bring ſome drink with a lighted Candle, which ſhe ſoon put out: But they crying and holding her by the Head-Cloaths, quickly diſcovered to the reſt where ſhe was. Upon which Mr. *Alexander King* Miniſter of *Bonnil* made haſt down Stairs where her Brother and Siſter had loſt their hold of her; but Mr. *King* having caught hold of her again, keept her in his Arms till another Candle was brought, and endeavoring to bring her up Stairs, declared that he found ſomething forcibly drawing her downwards, but ſtill keeping his hold, ſhe fell as one Dead upon the Stairs, and being carried up and laid in Bed, ſhe lay ſo for a conſiderable ſpace. When recovered from her Fit, ſhe declar'd that the Occaſion of her going down Stairs with ſuch Force, was, that the Crew had ſuggeſted to her while ſhe was light-headed, that the Devil was in the Meal Chiſt in the Celler, and that if ſhe would go down and put out the Candle, ſhe might force him out of it. When ſome Fits of this kind were ready to ſeize her, ſhe now and then

gave

gave notice thereof to thoſe that were preſent and earneſtly deſired their help to prevent her Motion, which uſually proved to be of good effect, wherein the Divine Mercy toward her is much to be obſerved. When ſhe was in theſe flying Fits, ſhe uſed to utter horrid Shreeks and crys not like thoſe of Rational Creatures: and there were heard for three nights together, when the Damſel was aſleep in Bed, Shreeks and crys of the ſame kind in the Court, when none of the Family was without Doors, to the great afrightment of thoſe that heard them, becauſe they exactly reſembled the Crys and Shreeks the Girl uſed to utter in her Fits; and in one of her Intervals hearing the Family talking of thoſe Crys and Shreeks, and alledging they had been uttered by ſome wild beaſt or other, ſhe told them they were miſtaken, for it was *Margaret*, and two others of the name of *Margaret* tall'd by the Crew their *Maggi's*, that uttered thoſe Shreeks, the Devil having promiſed to them at that time to carry her out of the Houſe that they might drown her in the Well, where there were eighteen more waiting for her.

After this ſhe fell into freting and angry fits, in which ſhe was croſs to all thoſe about her, nothing they did or ſaid proving to her ſatisfaction; but when reſtored to a right compoſure of mind, ſhe declar'd that her Tormentors did ſtill ſuggeſt to her and adviſe her to go to ſuch and ſuch remote places of the houſe alone, and bring with her a String or Cravat or ſome ſuch thing, promiſing her Almonds and other ſweet-meats, and bid her bring her apron with her to hold them in, and accordingly when ſhe was ſeiz'd again with fits of this nature ſhe did reſolutly endeavour to repair to thoſe places with a String, Cravat and Apron, and would ſuffer none to be in her Company, which put her Parents and others under a neceſſity of detaining her by force, and being thus prevented ſhe would utter hideous Shreeks and crys.

Thurſday January 14*th.* at night a young Girl appear'd to her with a ſcabbed face amongſt the reſt of her Tormentors, telling her ſhe was to come to the houſe to morrow about ten a clock, and forbidding her to reveal it.

The

The next day in the afternoon the Damſel earneſtly enquired at her Mother and the reſt of the Family what Beggars had come to the gate that day, and of what Countenance and viſage they were? But not knowing her deſign in ſuch a queſtion, they gave no heed to it; yet ſhe ſtill inſiſting on it, and being in Company with her Mother and another Gentlewoman, about four a clock at night ſhe ſaid to them, ſhe thought ſhe might tell them ſomewhat (the time being now paſt) that ſhe was forbidden to reveal; but as ſhe begun to tell it, ſhe preſently fell a crying that ſhe was tormented and pricked thorow her whole Body, however recovering from her fit, ſhe went on and told 'em that a ſcabbed-fac'd Laſs appear'd to her yeſter-night and was to be at the gate this day at ten a Clock. Whereupon the Servants being enquired at what ſort of Beggers had been there that day, they declar'd that among others, there had been a begger Woman at the door and a young Laſs with her who had Scabs on her Face, and receiv'd their Alms.

January, 16*th* and 17*th*, When recovered of her ſwooning Fits, ſhe voided at her Mouth a great number of Pins, which ſhe declared *F.....P.* and a Gentlewoman, who had been always one of her moſt violent Tormentors, had forc'd into her Mouth.

January 21, Her Fits altered again, after this manner, ſhe would fall into them with heavy Sighs and Groans and hideous Out-crys, telling thoſe about her that Cats, Ravens, Owles and Horſes were deſtroying and preſſing her down in the Bed: And at the ſame time her Mother and another Gentlewoman being in the Room with her, did declare that immediatly after they had taken the Girl out of her Bed in this condition, they did ſee ſomething moving under the Bed-cloaths as big as a Cat.

The ſame Morning in the interval of her Fits, ſhe ſaid, ſhe heard her Tormentors Whiſper amongſt themſelves, and ſuggeſt to one another, (naming *F.....P.* the *Anderſons* and others) that the Devil had promiſed and engaged to them, to carry her out at the Hall Window, to the end they might Drown her in the Well which was in the court; and then they ſaid the World would believe ſhe had deſtroyed

ſtroyed her ſelf; and the ſame day and ſeveral days after, when ſeiz'd with her Grievous Fits, ſhe did attempt with ſuch force to get out at that Window, that the Spectators could ſcarcely with their whole ſtrength prevent her.

About this time, nothing in the World would ſo diſcompoſe her as Religious Exerciſes, if there were any diſcourſes of God or Chriſt, or any of the things which are not ſeen and are Eternal, ſhe would be caſt into grievous Agonies; and when ſhe aſſayed in her milder Fits to read any portion of the Scriptures, repeat any of the Pſalms, or anſwer any Queſtions of the Catechiſms (which ſhe could do exactly well at other times) ſhe was ſuddenly ſtruck Dumb and lay as Dead, her Mouth opened to ſuch a Wideneſs that her Jaws ſeem'd to be out of joynt, and anon they would clap together again with incredible Force. The ſame happened to her Shoulder-blade, her Elbow, and wriſts. She would at other times ly in a benum'd Condition, and drawn together as if ſhe had been ty'd Neck and Heels with Ropes; and on a ſudden would with ſuch Force and Violence be pull'd up, and Tear all about her, that it was as much as one or two could do to hold her in their Arms: But when Miniſters and other good Chriſtians (ſeeing her in ſuch intollerable Anguiſh) made ſerious Application by Prayer to God on her behalf, ſhe had reſpite from her greivous Fits of this kind, and was ordinarly free of them during moſt of the time of Prayer, tho ſeiz'd by them before; uſually when Miniſters began to Pray ſhe made great diſturbance by idle lowd talk, Whiſtling, Singing, and Roaring, to drown the Voice of the perſon praying. Particularly *January* 22. She was more Turbulent then at other times, and continued ſome ſpace after the Miniſter began to Pray, Singing and making a hideous Noiſe, fetching furious Blows with her Fiſt, and Kicks with her Feet at the Miniſter, uttering reproachful Talk to him, and calling him Dog, *&c.* Yet being Compos'd, and her Fits over before Prayer was ended, the Miniſter, when he had done, finding her Sober and in a right Compoſure of Mind, enquired why ſhe made ſuch diſturbance? She reply'd, ſhe was forc't to do it by the Helliſh Crue about her, and that ſhe thought they were none of her own words that ſhe uttered.

January

January 24*th.* She ſaid that ſome things relating both to her ſelf and to others had been ſuggeſted to her by her Troublers; but that they had threatned to Torment her if ſhe ſhould offer to make them known. And accordingly as ſhe Eſſay'd to expreſs her Mind, ſhe was caſt into two grievous Fits, in which ſhe cry'd out of violent pains; all the parts of her Body becoming ſtiff and extended like a Corps, her Head was twiſted round, and if any Perſon offered by force to obſtruct ſuch dangerous Motions, ſhe would roar out exceedingly; ſometimes her Neck-bone ſeem'd to be diſlocated, and yet on a ſudden became ſo ſtiff that there was no moving of it; and when thoſe greivous Agonys were over, ſhe again Eſſay'd to expreſs her Mind in Writing, but to no purpoſe; for ſhe was caſt inſtantly into other two very grievous Fits, wherein ſhe was ſtruck Dumb, Deaf and Blind, and her Tongue drawn to a prodigeous length over her Chin. And when the Fits were over ſhe declar'd, that the *Anderſons* *F. P.* the Gentlewoman, and *I. D.* with the reſt of the Helliſh Crew, ſome of whom ſhe could not name, had been Tormenting her in her Fits, and that there had been fifteen of them about the Houſe all laſt Night; but were now all gone ſave one who was to ſtay about the Houſe till her Fits were over. And accordingly her Brother and Siſter declared that they ſaw in the Morning a Woman in the Garden with a red Coat about her Head, ſitting at the Root of an Apple-Tree; but *Bargarren* with moſt of the Servants being abroad, that Matter was not further ſearch't into.

That ſame day about Six at Night, ſhe was ſeiz'd with variety of greivous Fits, in which ſometimes ſhe lay wholly Senſeleſs and Breathleſs, with her Belly ſwel'd like a Drum, her Eyes were pul'd into her Head ſo far that the Spectators thought ſhe ſhould never have us'd them more, ſometimes when ſhe was tying her own Neck-cloaths, her enchanted Hands would tye them ſo ſtrait that ſhe had certainly ſtrangled her ſelf if the Spectators had not prevented her; ſometimes ſhe offered with violence to throw her ſelf into the Fire, and divers times ſhe ſtruck furiouſly at her near Relations. In her Fits ſhe'd maintain Diſcourſe with her Tormentors, ask Queſtions concerning her ſelf and others and receive

anſwers from them; which none but her ſelf could hear: She Reaſoned particularly with one of them after this manner; "O what ail'd thee to be a Witch! thou ſay'ſt it is but three "Nights ſince thou waſt a Witch, O if thou would'd Repent, "it may be God might give thee Repentance, if thou would'ſt "ſeek it, and Confeſs; if thou would deſire me I would do "what I could; for the Devil is an ill Maſter to ſerve, he "is a Lyer from the beginning, he promiſes but he cannot "perform. Then calling for her Bible, ſhe ſaid, I'll let thee "ſee where he promiſed to our firſt Parents, that they ſhould "not Dye, *And reading the paſſage, ſaid*, now thou ſeeſt he "is a Lier; for by breaking of the Commandment, they were "made liable to Death here and Death everlaſting. O that's "an Uncouth word; long Eternity never to have an end, "never never to have an end: Had not God of his infinite "Mercy, ordain'd ſome to Eternal Life through Jeſus Chriſt. "The Devil makes thee believe thou wilt get great Riches "by ſerving him; but come near, and having uttered this word ſhe loſt the power of her Speech, her Tongue being drawn back into her Throat; yet beckning with her Hand to the Spectre to come near her, and turning over the Book, kep't her Eye upon that paſſage of Holy Scripture, *Job.* 27. 18. And pointing with her Finger at the place, and ſhaking her Head, turn'd over the Book again. "And recovering "Speech, ſaid, I'll let thee ſee where God bids us ſeek and "we ſhall find, and reading over the place ſaid, it is God "that gives us every good Gift, we have nothing of our "own, I ſubmit to his will tho I never be better; for God "can make all my trouble turn to my Advantage, according "to his Word, *Rom.* 8. 28. which place ſhe then read, and thus continued Reaſoning, for the ſpace of an Hour.

Sometimes ſhe cry'd out of violent pain, by reaſon of furious Blows and Strokes ſhe had received from the Hands of her Tormentors, the Noiſe of which thoſe that ſtood by heard diſtinctly, tho they perceiv'd not the Hands that gave them. One Night ſitting with her Parents and others, ſhe cry'd out *ſomething was wounding her Thigh*; upon which, inſtantly her Mother putting her Hand in the Damſels Pocket, found her folding Knife open'd, which had been folded when put into her

her Pocket, but her Uncle not believing the thing; did again put up the Knife and leaving it folded in her Pocket on a ſudden ſhe cry'd out as before, *that the Knife was cutting her Thigh, being unfolded by the means of* I. P. *and others:* Upon which her Uncle ſearching her Pocket, found the Knife open'd as formerly. This happened twice or thrice to the Admiration of the Beholders, who took ſpecial Notice that neither ſhe her ſelf nor any other viſible Hand opened it.

January 25*th.* She was again ſeiz'd with her Swooning Fits, with this remarkable Variation; her Throat was ſometimes moſt prodigiouſly extended, and ſometimes as ſtrangely Contracted, ſo that ſhe appear'd in palpable danger of being Choak't, and through the violence of pain in her Throat and difficulty of Breathing ſtruggled with her Feet and Hands, as if ſome body had been actually Strangling her, and ſhe could neither ſpeak nor cry out to any; with theſe kind of Fits ſhe was frequently ſeiz'd for ſeveral days; and in the intervals declar'd that the fore-mention'd perſons, and others (whom ſhe could not then name) were ſtrangling her, and that the occaſion of her not having power to ſpeak or cry in the Fit, was a Ball in her Throat, which alſo was viſible to the Spectators; for they did clearly diſcern a Bunch in her Throat (while in the Fit) as big as a *Pullets* Egg which had almoſt Choak't her.

Sometimes ſhe was kep't from eating her Meat; having her Teeth cloſe together when ſhe carried any food to her Mouth. Alſo ſhe was diverſe times kept from Drinking when at Meat; no ſooner taſting the Drink, but ſhe was in hazard to be Choak't; ſometimes ſhe held the Cup ſo hard betwixt her Teeth, that it was not in the power of thoſe that were with her to unlooſe it. And when any thing had fallen out amiſs in the place where ſhe was, as the falling and breaking of a Cup, any Body's receiving harm or the like; ſhe would fall a laughing and rejoyce extremely; which was far from her temper at other times.

February 1*ſt.* She attempted to tell ſome things that ſhe had been forbidden by her Tormentors, upon which ſhe was grievouſly Tormented; at the beginning of her Fits ſhe would look odly; ſometimes towards the Chimney, ſometimes

towards other places of the Room, but could not always tell what ſhe ſaw; yet ordinarily ſhe'd Name ſuch and ſuch Perſons, who, ſhe ſaid were then come to caſt her into Fits. And when any deſired her to cry to the Lord Jeſus for help, her Teeth were inſtantly ſet cloſs, her Eyes twiſted almoſt round, and ſhe was thrown upon the Floor in the poſture of one that had been ſome days laid out for Dead: And on a ſudden ſhe would recover again, and weep bitterly to think what had befal'n her. That ſame day, when her Fits were over, ſhe ſaid, ſhe perceiv'd it was by means of a Charm, that ſuch Reſtraints were laid upon her as ſhe could not tell what the Witches had forbidden her to make known, but the Charm might be found out (as ſhe ſaid) by ſearching beneath the Bed where ſhe lay; and having quickly done it her ſelf, ſhe found (to the apprehenſion of the Spectators) an Egg-ſhell open in the end, which being thrown into the Fire, did melt after the manner of Wax, without any ſuch Noiſe as Egg-ſhells uſe to make when thrown into the Fire. After this ſhe ſaid, ſhe ſhould not now be handled ſo ſeverely, upon Eſſaying to make known what the Witches had forbidden her, only her Tongue would be drawn back into her Throat, which accordingly happened. She did likewiſe inform her Friends of many things ſhe had not liberty to do before the Charm was found out, particularly that her Tormentors had frequently ſolicited her to become a Witch her ſelf, and promiſed her great Riches, and perfect Health to induce her thereunto. Which Tentation, ſhe through the infinit Mercy of God ſtill reſiſted, reaſoning with them after this manner: "The Devil promiſes what he cannot perform, and granting "he could fulfill his promiſes; yet I am ſure from the "Scriptures, Hell and the Wrath of God will be the final "reward of all ſuch as yeild to this Wickedneſs. *To which ſhe receiv'd this reply* (*which indeed none but her ſelf could hear*) *that* "Hell and the Wrath of God ſo much talk't of, was "not ſo formidable as repreſented. She alſo ſaid, the Witches had Importunatly urged her to give her Conſent to the taking away the Life of her young Siſter, who was at that time upon her Mothers breaſt; which Tentation alſo ſhe was enabled throw the Grace of God to reſiſt. She told her

her Parents likeways, there had been a Charm laid upon the top of the Houſe where her young Siſter was (the Child having been ſent out to nurſing by reaſon of the continued Affliction of the Family) and that the Charm had been plac'd there by *pinch'd Maggi*, who thereby did deſign the taking away of her Siſters Life; and that this was the Cauſe why ſhe had ſo often for ſome Weeks before deſired her Mother to bring home her Siſter, conſtantly affirming, that the Child would daily decay as long as ſhe ſtayed there: Whereupon her Parents obſerving the decay of the Infant; even to Skin and Bone, they brought her home, where ſhe recovered. And the Girl being asked how ſhe came to the knowledge of theſe things? Reply'd, that ſomething ſpeaking diſtinctly as it were over her Head, had ſuggeſted theſe and other things of that Nature to her.

February 2*d.* Being in the Chamber with her Mother and others, ſhe was on a ſudden ſtruck with great Fear and Conſternation; and fell a trembling, upon the ſight of one *John Lindſay* of *Barcloch*, talking with her Father in the Hall. She told her Mother, the foreſaid *Lindſay* had been always one of her moſt Violent Tormentors, and that ſhe had been threatned with extreame Tortures, if ſhe ſhould offer to Name him; whereupon ſhe was deſired to go toward the place where he was, and touch ſome part of his Body, unknown to him, which having done, with ſome Averſation, ſhe was inſtantly ſeiz'd with extreame Tortures in all the parts of her Body. After which *Lindſay* was Examin'd thereupon; but giving no ſatisfying Anſwer, was deſir'd to take the Damſel by the Hand, which being unwillingly prevail'd with to do, ſhe was immediately, upon his Touch, caſt into Intolerable Anguiſh, her Eyes almoſt twiſted round, and all the parts of her Body becoming ſtiff, ſhe fell down in the poſture of one that for ſome days had been Dead, and afterwards got up on a ſudden, and tearing her Cloaths, threw her ſelf with violence upon him, and when her Fits were over, the Spectators did alſo take the Damſel by the Hanud, but no ſuch effects followed.

About Six at Night there came an Old Highland Fellow to *Bagarren*, who calling himſelf a Weary Traveller, ſaid, He behooved

behooved to Lodge there that Night; but the Servants refuſing him Lodging, gave him ſomething by way of Almes. At this time the Damſel being in the Chamber with her Mother, and another Gentlewoman, ſaid, To her beſt apprehenſion, there was one of the Wicked Crew in or about the Houſe at that time; whereupon her Mother made haſt with her Daughter down Stairs toward the Kitchen. And finding there unexpectedly the Highland Fellow, whom the Girle then Accuſed, as one of her Tormentors, ſhe deſir'd him to take her Daughter by the Hand, which he being urg'd to do, the Girle immediately, upon his Touch, was grievouſly Tormented in all the parts of her Body. Whereupon *Bargarran* gave Orders to ſecure him. The next Morning the Miniſter being come to viſit the Damſel, called for the Highland Fellow, and having Examin'd him about this matter, without any ſatisfyfying Anſwer, he brought the Child out of the Chamber, covering her Face, and almoſt her whole Body with his Cloak, and giving Signs to the Highland Fellow to touch her in this Poſture, as he had Order'd him before, without the Damſels knowledge, he did it with great Averſion; and the Girle not knowing of his Touch, was inſtantly caſt into Intollerable Agonies; yet others afterwards touching her, no ſuch event followed. And when her Fits were over, ſhe beſought the Highfand Fellow to allow her the Liberty to Diſcover the Perſons that Haunted and Moleſted her, whom he had forbidden her to make known: Upon which the Old Fellow looking at her with an Angry Countenance, her mouth was inſtantly ſtop't, and her Teeth ſett: But being deſired by thoſe preſent to ſpeak her mind freely; whether he would or not, at length ſhe Reply'd, That ſhe was Affraid to do it. And when by the Importunity of the Lairds of *Dargavel* and *Porterfield* of *Fulwood*, and ſome other Gentlemen there preſent, ſhe Eſſay'd to declare her mind, ſhe was ſeiz'd with her Fits again.

Before this time, the lamentable Caſe of the Afflicted Damſel and Family had been Repreſented to His Majeſty's moſt Honourably Privy-Council, who, upon ſerious Application made to them, granted a Commiſſion to a Noble Lord, and ſome worthy Gentlemen, to make Enquiry into the matter.

By

By vertue of this Commiſſion ſome ſuſpected Perſons were ſeiz'd; particularly on *February* 4. *Alexander Anderſon* (an Ignorant, Irreligious Fellow, who had been always of evil Fame, and accuſed by the afflicted Damſel) was by a ſpecial Order from the Commiſſioners for Enquiry, apprehended and committed to Priſon; as was alſo *Elizabeth Anderſon* his Daughter, upon ſtrong Preſumptions of Witchcraft; for the other Year *Jean Fulton* her Grand-mother, an Old ſcandalous Woman, being Cited before the Kirk Seſſion, and accus'd for Curſing, and Imprecating miſchief upon ſeveral Perſons, which had been followed with fatal Events; the fore mentioned *Elizabeth Anderſon* her Grand child, who liv'd in the Houſe with her, did declare before the Seſſion, ſhe had frequently ſeen the Devil in company with her Grand-mother, in the likeneſs of a ſmall black Man; and that he uſually vaniſhed on a ſudden, when any Body came to the Door. Upon this Preſumption was the ſaid *Elizabeth Anderſon* ſeiz'd with her Father, and committed to Cuſtody; but at firſt moſt obſtinatly denied any manner of acceſſion to the Sin of Witchcraft, until afterwards, that being ſeriouſly importun'd in Priſon by two Gentlemen, ſhe did, before ſhe came to *Bargarran*'s Houſe, confeſs her Guilt. And that ſhe had been at ſeveral Meetings with the Devil and Witches, and, amongſt others, ſhe Accus'd her own Father, and the fore-mention'd High-land Fellow, to have been Active Inſtruments in the Girl's Trouble; and before ſhe was Confronted with him, gave exact Marks of this Highland Man, tho' ſhe knew not his Name; yet when ſhe ſaw him did Accuſe him, and Affirm'd he was the Perſon ſhe ſpoke of.

February 5*th*. A Quorum of the Commiſſioners being met at *Bargarran*, and the Perſons then Accuſed by *Elizabeth Anderſon* to have been at *Meetings* with the Devil, and Active Inſtruments of the Damſels Trouble, Viz. *Alexander Anderſon* her Father, *Agnes Naſmith*, *Margaret Fulton*, *James Lindſay*, alias Curat, *Katharine Campbel*, were all of them Confronted, with *Chriſtian Shaw*, before the Lord *Blantyre*, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, and ſeveral other Gentlemen of Note and *Miniſters*; and Accuſed by her as her Tormentors. And they having all ſeverally Touched her in the Preſence of the Commiſſioners,

Commiſſioners, ſhe was, at each of their Touches, ſeiz'd with Grievous Fits, and caſt into Intollerable Agonies; others then preſent did alſo Touch her, in the ſame manner, but no ſuch effect followed. And it is Remarkable, that when *Katharine Cambel* touched the Girle, ſhe was immediately ſeiz'd with more grievous Fits, and caſt into more Intollerable Torments than upon the Touch of the other Accuſed Perſons; whereat *Cambel* her ſelf being Daunted and Confounded, tho' ſhe had formerly declined to Bleſs her, uttered theſe Words; *The Lord God of Heaven and Earth Bleſs thee, and ſave thee both Soul and Body*; after which, the Damſel, when the Fits were over, in which ſhe had lain a moſt pitiful Spectacle, did declare ſhe was now loos'd, and that ſhe might freely Touch any of the Accus'd Perſons, or they her after this, without Trouble, which accordingly, upon Trial, fell out: And being enquired how ſhe came to the knowledge of that, anſwered as formerly in the like Caſe; That ſomething Speaking diſtinctly as it were over Head, ſuggeſted this to her; And likewiſe, uſually gave her the Knowledge of the Names of her Tormentors, and Places in which they Liv'd.

February 6. The Girle being ſeiz'd with ſore Fits, ſomething was ſeen in her mouth like pieces of Orange-Pills, which were Inviſibly convey'd thither; ſhe ſeem'd, in her Agonies to Chew them; and having got them down her Throat, ſhe fell down as if ſhe had been Choak't, ſtrugling with her Feet and Hands, and at the laſt Gaſp, and her Throat ſwelling in a Prodigious manner, to the Affrightment of the Spectators; when ſhe recover'd ſhe was Light-headed for ſome time, and would ſay, O it was a very ſweet Orange-Pill which I got from the Gentlewoman; declaring alſo, that there had been others there, particularly *Margaret L.* or Pinch't *Maggi*, whoſe Sirname ſhe had neither Power nor Liberty to expreſs, neither durſt ſhe offer to do it, leaſt ſhe ſhould be Tormented as was Threatned, and alwayes came to paſs when ſhe Eſſay'd to do it, either by ſpeaking or writing, as had appear'd the day before in preſence of the Commiſſioners.

About this time, *Thomas Lindſay*, a young Boy, not yet Twelve Years of Age, was ſeiz'd, upon ſtrong Preſumptions of

of Witchcraft; he had ſaid before ſeveral credible Perſons, that the Devil was his Father, and if he pleas'd he could fly in the likeneſs of a Crow, up to the maſt of a Ship; he ſometimes caus'd a Plough to ſtand, and the Horſes to break their Yokes upon the pronouncing of ſome words, and turning himſelf about from the right-hand to the left, contrary to the Natural courſe of the Sun. This he would do upon the deſire of any Body for a half-penny. Upon theſe and the like Preſumptions he was Apprehended, and at firſt continu'd moſt obſtinate in denyal; yet afterwards confeſs'd to the *Miniſter*, in his own Houſe, before Credible Witneſſes, his Compact with the Devil, and that he had receiv'd the Inſenſible mark from him, which is viſible upon his Body: As alſo, that he had been at ſeveral meetings with the Devil and Witches, where he ſaid were preſent his Brother *James*, with others, and particularly thoſe who had been Accus'd by *Anderſon*. This he Confeſt, with ſome others of the like kind, before he was Committed to Cuſtody.

After this, *Bargarran* made diligent ſearch for *James Lindſay*, Elder Brother to *Thomas*, he having been all along Accuſed by the Afflicted Damſel, as one of her Troublers, by the Name of the Gleid, or Squint-Ey'd Elff, (the reſt of her Tormentors having call'd him ſo, becauſe of his Squint eyes) when he was brought to the place, he did at firſt Obſtinately deny his Guilt, yet, at length, by the endeavours of Mr. *Patrick Simpſon*, a Neighbouring *Miniſter*, ingenuouſly Confeſſed it, and did agree in every material Circumſtance with the other two, tho' he knew not what they had Confeſt, he having neither ſeen them before his Confeſſion, nor had any occaſion of Information in Conference with others, being immediately brought thither from the Priſon of *Glaſgow*, where he had been ſhut up ſome Weeks before as a Vagabond, in order to be ſent to Forreign Plantations.

A more particular Account of what all of them freely Confeſs'd and Acknowledg'd before the Commiſſioners for Enquiry, we have, for the ſatisfaction of the Reader, ſubjoyn'd to the Narrative; with an Abſtract of the Report made by the Commiſſioners, to the Lords of His Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council, concerning the whole Affair.

February 11. There was by the Presbitry's Appointment a Publick Faſt kept on the Damſels account in the Church of *Erskine*, in which Mr. *Turner*, Miniſter of the Place, begun with Prayer, Expounding *Rev.* 12. from *Verſ.* 7. to *Verſ.* 13. Mr. *James Hutchiſon* Miniſter at *Killellan* took the next turn of Prayer, and Preach'd on 1 *Pet.* 5. 8. and Mr. *Simpſon* concluded the Work, Preaching on *Mat.* 17. 20, 21. The Girl was preſent all Day; and before ſhe came to Church that Morning, told, That while ſhe was in one of her Fits the Night before, ſhe heard the Devil ſpeaking of that Publick Faſt, and what Miniſters were to be there; and that the Old Man Mr. *James Hutchiſon*, ſhould ſtumble, and his Peruick fall off as he went up to the Pulpit, and all the People ſhould Laugh at him; and he ſhould break his Neck in going home. And when ſhe came out of the Church, ſhe ſaid, The Devil was a Liar, for no ſuch thing fell out as he had threatned. She was all Day very quiet in Church; though troubled with ſome of her light Fits, during which ſome Spectres appear'd, as ſhe told afterwards.

About Six at Night there were preſent in the Chamber with the Damſel, Mr. *Simpſon* with his Wife, the Lady *Northharr*; and others, diſcourſing and conferring about her Caſe; and while they were thus conferring together, ſhe told them, ſhe would gladly make ſome things known, if ſhe durſt, for her Tormenters; and afterwards attempting to do it, was inſtantly ſeiz'd with a violent Fit; in which ſhe leapt ſtrait up, and appear'd as if ſhe had been choak'd, ſo that it was as much as one or two could do, to hold her faſt in their Armes: And when the Fit was over, Mr. *Simpſon* going about Family Worſhip, did Expound *Pſalm* 110. and ſpeaking of the limitted power of the Adverſaries of our Lord JESUS CHIST, from the latter part of *Verſe* 1. ſhe was on a ſudden ſeiz'd with another grievous Fit, and ſome Blood iſſued from her mouth, which rais'd Grounds of Fear and Jealouſy in the minds of the Spectators, as to the occaſion of it; yet they could not get her mouth open'd, her Teeth being cloſe ſet. And in the Interval of the Fit being ask'd, If ſhe found any thing in her mouth that had been the occaſion of that Blood; ſhe reply'd, She found nothing,

thing, nor knew not the Cauſe of it; but opening her mouth, they found one of her Double-Teeth newly drawn; yet tho' ſearch was made for the ſame, it could not be found: After which the Miniſter proceeded upon the ſame Subject, but was again interrupted by her renewed Fits, yet cloſed the Exerciſe with Prayer; after which ſhe was taken to Bed, without any farther Trouble that Night.

February 12. *Margaret Laing* and her Daughter *Martha Semple*, being accuſed by the three that had Confeſſed, and accuſed by the Girl to have been active Inſtruments in her Trouble, came of their own accord to *Bargarran*'s Houſe, and before they came up Stairs the Girl ſaid, ſhe was now bound up, and could not accuſe *Margaret Laing* to her Face: And accordingly the Girl's Mother having deſired ſome of thoſe who were ſitting by her to feel her Body, they found her ſo ſtiff and inflexible, that there was no moving of it, and immediatly again found ſome parts of her Body contracted and drawn hard, as if by Cords; after this *Margaret Laing* and her Daughter, having gone to the Chamber to the Girl; did in preſence of the Miniſters and others, deſire the Damſel to come to her; for ſhe would do her no Harm, and laying her Arms about her, ſpake very fairly to her, and queſtion'd her if ever ſhe had ſeen her or her Daughter amongſt her Tormentors, to which the Girl did poſitively reply, ſhe had frequently ſeen her Daughter; but declined throw fear to accuſe her ſelf, ſaying faintly *No*; after which *Margaret* and her Daughter returning into the Hall, and the Miniſter requiring at her why ſhe ſaid *No*, ſeeing ſhe had accus'd her before, ſhe anſwered, you muſt take my meaning to be otherwiſe, upon which ſhe was ſeiz'd with a grievous Fit; and after her recovery being urg'd again to tell her Mind freely, whether or not *Margaret Laing* was one of her Tormentors, the Child thereupon Eſſaying to ſay *Yes*, and having half pronounced the Word, was caſt into unexpreſſible Anguiſh; and again in the interval of the Fit, ſhe Eſſay'd to expreſs the ſame thing, and ſaying only the word *Tint* (that is loſt) was on a ſudden ſtruck with another fit, and when the fit was over, and the Child returned to the Chamber, *Margaret Laing* who was ſitting near the Hall door, ſpoke theſe words

The Lord bleſs thee, and ding (that is beat, or drive) the Devil out of thee. A little after which, *Margaret* going down ſtairs, the Damſel came to the Hall and ſaid, her Bonds were now loos'd, and that ſhe could accuſe *Margaret Laing* to her Face, and declar'd the occaſion of her being ſo Reſtrain'd while *Margaret* was preſent, was her letting fall a parcel of Hair at the Hall door as ſhe came in; being a Charm made by her for that end, which alſo had been the occaſion of her uttering the word *Tint* in the former fit: And accordingly a parcel of Hair had been found at the Hall-door, after *Margaret Laing* had gone ſtraight from the Hall to the Chamber, which immediatly was caſt into the Fire and burnt. And its remarkable, that it could be atteſted that there was no Hair, or any other thing elſe in that place before *Margaret Laing* came in, and the Girl being enquired, what way ſhe knew *Margaret Laing* had laid the fore-mentioned Charm upon her, replyed, that ſomething ſpeaking diſtinctly to her as it were over her Head, inform'd her ſo.

About Eight at Night ſhe was ſeverely handled in her Fits, much after the former manner, and while ſhe was in her ſwooning Fits, there was ſeen in her Mouth a Pin, wherewith ſhe ſeem'd almoſt Choak't; but by Divine Providence it was got out, tho with great difficulty. After this ſhe was ſomewhat compoſed, and did not much complain of pain; but was diſtinctly heard to entertain diſcourſe with ſome inviſible Creatures about her, and the Reply's given by her, and heard by thoſe who took care of her, gave them ground to conclude ſhe was tempted to ſet her Hand to a Paper then preſented to her, with Promiſes that upon her yielding thereunto *ſhe ſhould never be troubled any more; as alſo that ſhe ſhould have ſweet meats, a Glaſs of Sack, and a handſome Coat with ſilver Lace*: She was alſo diſtinctly heard to ſay, reſiſting the Tempter, *Thou art a filthy Sow, ſhould I obey thee; this was not the end of my Creation, but to Glorify God and enjoy him for ever; and thou promiſeſt what thou canſt not perform: Art thou angry at me for ſaying thou Sow, What ſhould I call thee but thou filthy Sow? Art thou not the filthy Devil, for as brave as thou art with thy Silver and Gold Lace? Wouldſt thou have me Renounce my Baptiſm? Doſt thou promiſe to give me brave Men*

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in Marriage, and fine Cloaths, and perfect Health, if I ſhould conſent thereunto? Doſt thou ſay my Baptiſm will do me no good, becauſe thou alledgeſt he was not a ſufficient Miniſter that baptized me? thou art a Liar, I'll be content to dye ere I renounce my Baptiſm. O thorow the Grace of God I'll never do it. And thus ſhe continued Reaſoning, being both Blind and Deaf, for the ſpace of two Hours; and when ſhe came to her ſelf did declare it was the Devil, who firſt preſented himſelf tempting her in the ſhape of a Sow, to Renounce her Baptiſm, as is hinted; and that he did chide her when ſhe call'd him, *thou Sow*, and immediatly appear'd to her again in the ſhape of a brave Gentleman, having Gold and Silver Lace on his Cloaths, ſtill urging her to renounce her Baptiſm, which Temptation through the ſpecial aſſiſtance of the Grace of God ſhe effectually reſiſted: ſhe alſo ſaid, that it had been ſuggeſted to her by the Spirit, ſpeaking to her as formerly over her Head, after the Combat with the Tempter was paſt, that one of her Tormentors would be at the Houſe to Morrow.

February 13. She was ſeiz'd with a ſore fit about Twelve a Clock of the day, in which ſhe continued for more than two Hours, both Deaf and Blind. Thoſe in the Room with her cry'd to her aloud, and pinch'd her Hands and other parts of her Body; but all to no purpoſe. And in this poſture ſhe was hurried To and Fro with violence thorow the Room: And when any Body offer'd to hinder the dangerous and violent Motion ſhe ſeem'd to be in, ſhe'd Roar exceedingly, ſometimes ſhe'd deſire her Father and Mother and others to come and take her Home (ſuppoſing her ſelf not to be in her Fathers Houſe) when ſhe was in this deplorable Condition, *Margaret Roger* who liv'd in the Neighbour-hood, came to the Houſe of *Bargarren* enquiring for the Lady; and having come up ſtairs, the Parents of the Damſel remembering the Girl had ſaid the Night before, that one of her Tormentors was to come that day to the Houſe, brought *Margaret Roger* to the Chamber where ſhe was, and ſo ſoon as ſhe entered the Door; the Damſel tho ſhe could diſcern none of thoſe who were preſent with her, nor anſwer them when they cry'd to her; yet preſently ſaw her and ran towards

wards her, crying, *Maggi, Maggi, where haſt thou been? wilt thou take me with thee, for my Father and Mother have left me.* Whereupon the Spectators being Aſtoniſh'd, caus'd *Morgaret* to ſpeak to the Child; which ſhe having done, the Girle diſtinctly heard and anſwered her every word. After this, the Three that had Confeſſed, were alſo brought up to the Chamber where the Damſel was; and as ſoon as they entered the Door, ſhe ran alſo to them, Laughing, as if ſhe had been overjoy'd, Anſwering them when they ſpoke to her: and *Margaret Roger* being Confronted with them, They declared that ſhe had been at Meetings with the Devil and Witches in *Bargarran*'s Orchard, Conſulting and Contriving the Childes ruine.

The LORD's Day following, being *February* 14. After ſome ſhort Intervals, ſhe was again ſeiz'd with her Fits, in which ſhe ſaid, *Margaret Laing, and her Daughter Martha Semple, were Tormenting her, and cutting her Throat*; which words, through violence of Pain, and difficulty of Breathing, ſhe uttered with a low, and ſcarcely, audible Voice; and upon the Naming of *Margaret Laing* and her Daughter, ſhe was Toſſed and dreadfully Tormented in all the parts of her Body, being made ſometimes to ſtand upon her Head and Feet at once, ſometimes her Belly ſwelling like a Drum, and falling again on a ſudden; and ſometimes her Head, and other parts of her Body were like to be ſhaken in pieces, ſo that the Spectators feard ſhe would never ſpeak more. And when the Fit was ove'r, ſhe declar'd, *Margaret Laing* ſaid to her, while in the Fit, *That ſhe would give her a Toſty* (which imports hot and ſevere handling) for Naming her.

At this time ſhe was ſeldom free of her Light-headed-fits, which, for the moſt part, were all the reſpite and eaſe ſhe had from the unexpreſſible Agonies ſhe endur'd in her more grievous Fits; unleſs when aſleep: And while ſhe was in theſe Fits, no Body could perſwade her to Pray; yet, when in a right compoſure of Mind, ſhe'd Weep Bitterly at the Remembrance of this, expreſſing her Fears, leaſt it might be an Evidence that God would forſake her.

February 18. About Two in the Afternoon, ſhe being in a Light-headed-fit, ſaid, *The Devil now appear'd to her in the Shape*

Shape of a man; Whereupon being ſtruck with great Fear and Conſternation, ſhe was deſir'd to Pray with an Audible Voice, *The Lord Rebuke thee Satan:* which Eſſaying to do, ſhe inſtantly loſt her power of Speech, her Teeth being ſett, and her Tongue drawn back into her Throat; and attempting it again, ſhe was immediately ſeiz'd with another grievous Fit; in which her Eyes being twiſted almoſt round, ſhe fell down as one Dead, ſtruggling with Feet and Hands, and getting up again on a ſudden, was hurried with Violence too and fro, thorow the Room, Deaf and Blind; yet was ſpeaking with ſome Inviſible Creature about her ſaying, *With the Lord's ſtrength thou ſhal't neither put Straw nor Sticks into my mouth.* After this ſhe cry'd in a pitiful manner, *The Bee hath ſting'd me:* then preſently ſitting down, and untying her Stocking, put her Hand to that part which had been Nip't or Pinch't; Whereupon the Spectators did viſibly diſcern the lively marks of Nails of Fingers deeply imprinted on that ſame part of her Leg. And when ſhe came to her ſelf, ſhe did declare, *That ſomething ſpeaking to her, as it were over her Head, told her it was* M. M. *in a Neighbouring Pariſh* (naming the place) *that had appear'd to her, and pinch't her Leg in the likeneſs of a Bee.* She likewiſe declared, That the forementioned M. M. *inſtantly after this had been ſuggeſted to her, appeared in her own ſhape and likeneſs, as ſhe us'd to be at other times.* Shortly after this, being ſtill ſeiz'd with her light Fit, ſhe whiſper'd in her Mothers Ear, *The Devil was now appearing to her again in the ſhape of a Gentleman:* And being inſtantly ſeiz'd with her light Fits, in which ſhe was both Blind and Deaf, was diſtinctly heard, Arguing after this manner. *Thou think'ſt to tempt me to be a Witch; but through God's ſtrength thou ſhalt never be the better: I charge thee, in the Name of GOD to be gone, and thy Papers too; in the LORD's ſtrength I'll not fear thee: I'll ſtand here and ſee, if thou can come one ſtep nearer me; I think thou feareſt me more then I fear thee.* Then turning her ſelf again, ſhe was hurried To and Fro with violence thorow the Room as formerly, ſaying, *She was bitten or pinch't very ſore in the Hands with Teeth, and Nip't with Fingers above Twenty four times*; which occaſion'd her to utter horrid Shreeks, and Out-crys at every time ſhe receiv'd them, ſhewing and pointing

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ing with her Finger to thoſe parts of her Arm and Leg which had been Pinch't and Bitten, but neither ſaw nor heard any about her. And accordingly the Spectators did viſibly diſcern the evident marks of the Teeth and Nails of Fingers upon her Arms and Legs. In this poſture the Girle continued from Two to Five in the Afternoon; and when her miſeries were over, ſhe ſaid, *M. M. told her in the Fit, that* Margaret Laing, *then in cuſtody, had ordered her to handle her after that manner. And that* Margaret Laing *had a Commanding Power over her.*

On *Friday* and *Saturday*, *February* 19 and 20. ſhe was frequently ſeiz'd with the foremention'd Fits, and violently Bitten, Pincht and Nipt in her Hands, Neck, and other parts of her Body, ſo that the marks of the Nails of Fingers and Teeth, with the Spittle and Slaber of a mouth thereupon were evidently ſeen by Spectators. When ſhe was ſeiz'd with her Blind and Deaf Fits, a Crooked Fellow appear'd to her, having his two Feet deform'd, his two heels turning inwards toward one another, and the fore-parts of his Feet outward, ſo that the broad-ſide of his Feet mov'd foremoſt; and upon the appearing of this Fellow, her Feet were put in the very ſame poſture during the time he Tormented her. It is to be obſerved, that there is a Fellow in one of the Neighbouring-Pariſhes, whoſe Feet are exactly Deform'd in that manner, who has been of a long time of Evil Fame, and Accuſed by thoſe that Confeſſed, to have been at Meatings with the Devil, and the reſt of the Crew in *Bargarren*'s Orchard.

Saturday, *February* 20. The whole Family being gone to Bed, they had left a great quantity of Peets (or Turff) by the Hall Chimney, which, the next morning, they ſaw burnt to Aſhes, though there had been no Fire in the Chimney, nor near them, ſo that the Plaiſter and Stones of the Wall, where the Peets or Turff lay, were, in a great part, turn'd to Rubbiſh by the violence of the Fire, but no other Damage followed, the Hall-floor being laid with Stones, and the Peets lying within the Brace of a large Chimney.

Febr. 27*th.* The Chamber-fire having been covered with Aſhes in the Chimney when the Family went to Bed, the next morning, though a good quantity of Aſhes had been left

left; yet they found all clean ſweept away, and no appearance of aſhes nor fire at all, tho none in the family had been there after the fire was covered.

In fits of this kind ſhe continued for ſeveral days after, naming the foremention'd crooked fellow, *F. R.* and *M. A.* two Women that lived in the neighbouring Pariſhes, which two latter were accus'd (by the three that had confeſſed) to be amongſt her Tormenters, and particularly upon the Lords day *February* 12. and the Munday following, the ſaid *F. R.* appearing to her grievouſly vexed her, telling her ſhe was commiſſioned ſo to do, the Gentlewoman *M. M.* having a pain in her head at that time, and ſo not being able to come forth. Concerning which it is worthy of remark, that the Damſel declar'd *M. M.* to have appeared to her about two days after, with her head bound up with a handker-chief, in which poſture ſhe did not formerly appear.

Upon *Thurſday February* 25. She continued in the former fits, weeping bitterly and complaining of a pain in both her ſides, ſhe alſo told in the interval of her fits, that ſhe was that night to be in very grievous and ſore fits, her Tormenters being reſolved to choak her, by putting pins in her mouth, which (tho ſhe emptied her ſelf of all that were in her Cloaths) yet accordingly came to paſs: In thoſe fits ſhe was both Blind and Deaf, leaping up and down in an extraordinary manner, and thus continued for ſome days voiding out of her Mouth a great quantity of ſmall broken Pins, which ſhe declar'd *F. R.* had forc'd into the ſame.

Upon the Lords day being the laſt of *February*, about five a Clock in the Afternoon ſhe fell into grievous fits, accompained with loud Laughing, Leaping, and runing with violence to and fro, and thereafter wept ſore, crying out of Pain, and that a little Highland Man (whom ſhe knew to be ſuch by his habit and ſpeech) was now breaking her Leg; which (becauſe of Pain) ſhe ſcarce could get told in the fit, and putting her Hand to the part of her Leg affected, the Spectators untying her ſtocking, diſtinctly obſerved a ſore bruiſe in her Shin bone; which when touched did ſo pain her, that ſhe uttered horrid Shreeks and Crys; and when recovered did declare, that the little Highland fellow had given her that bruiſe. After this, ſhe voided at her *M*outh a crooked Pin, which ſhe ſaid the Highland fellow had forc't into her *M*outh, and deſign'd to Choak her.

The firſt eight days of *March* ſhe continued in her former fits; with little Variation, voiding at her *M*outh a great number of ſmall Pins and often fainted and fell as Dead upon the ground on a ſudden, ſtrugling with Feet and Hands; by all which her Natural Spirits were much Weakned and Exhauſted; ſometimes alſo ſhe attempted to go into the Fire. About this time when *M*iniſters and other Chriſtians met in the Family for Prayer, ſhe us'd at the beginning of the work to make great diſturbance, particularly *March* 2. which day being ſet apart for Faſting and Praying, ſhe was for ſome time very compoſed, until of a ſudden, a ſtrong blaſt of Wind forced open the Windows of the Room; upon which ſhe was inſtantly ſeiz'd with a violent fit, whilſt the *M*iniſter was ſupplicating God that ſhe might be delivered from Satans Bonds: In this fit ſhe was both Blind and Deaf as to All, except her Tormentors, was hurried with violence to and fro in the Room, ſometimes falling down as one Dead, ſometimes Singing and making a Hideous Noiſe, ſometimes naming *M. M.* and others, who ſhe ſaid, were there preſent Afflicting and Tormenting her, and named the particular places of the Room where ſhe ſaw them ſtanding and ſitting. And when recovered from the fit, ſhe told that a Gentlewoman and a little Highland fellow came in with the blaſt of Wind, which forc'd open the Windows. This falling out upon the *Tueſday*, ſhe continued in the light fit without any Intermiſſion, till the Sabbath after, not being ſeiz'd with any of her ſore fits: And having gone to Church the Lords day following, was perfectly well for the moſt part of the day; yet affirmed ſhe ſaw *Janet Wagh* and others in one of the Windows of the Church, tho inviſible to all others.

Tueſday being *March* the 9*th*. Her *M*other and *Margaret Campbel* her Couſin took the Damſel to walk with them in the Orchard; and returning back to the houſe, her *M*other entered the Tower gate firſt, with the Damſel at her back and *Margaret Campbel* tarrying a little while at the gate, her *M*other went into the Kitchen, ſuppoſing they had both been with her, whereas the Damſel was of a ſudden carried away in a flight up Stairs with ſo ſwift and unaccountable a motion, that her abſence was not in the leaſt ſuſpected, but her *M*other turning about and miſſing her, cry'd, where is *Chriſtian* and *Margaret Campbel*? And inſtantly runing up Stairs to look for the Damſel heard a noiſe and following the ſame, found her Leaping and Dancing upon one of the Stairs being ſeiz'd with fits, out of which being recovered

ſhe told, that *J. P.* had carried her away from her Mothers back as ſhe entred the Kitchen door (her feet not touching the ground to her apprehenſion) with a deſign to ſtrangle her in an high wardrob with Ropes on which they us'd to to dry Linnen, but that the ſaid *J. P.* could carry her no further then the place where ſhe was found, and did therefore leave her in ſuch a violent fit.

Upon the Lords day after being *March* 14. Her fits altered, her Mouth and Noſe were prodigiouſly diſtorted, and her face thereby ſtrangely and horridly deform'd. That ſame day being at Church in the Forenoon, her Glove falling from her, was again put into her Hand by ſome inviſible Agent, to the Amazment of the beholders. To which we may add here, as that which is worthy of remark, that all this while an *Inviſible beeing* haunted her on all occaſions, ſuggeſting many things to her, both concerning her ſelf and others; but yet was never heard by any but her ſelf.

The ſame day betwixt Sermons, ſhe foretold that ſhe was to be violently Tormented in the Afternoon; which accordingly came to paſs, and in her fits ſhe named one *J. K.* a Woman living in the Neighbourhood, of whom ſhe ſaid, that ſhe had ſeen her in the Church. As alſo, that ſhe was Maſter of theſe kind of fits ſhe was now afflicted with; withal aſſerting, that if the ſaid *I. K.* were not ſent for, ſhe would grow worſe and worſe; which her Parents finding to be true, ſent in the Evening for the ſaid *I. K.* threatning her, if the Damſel was any further troubled with her, that ſhe ſhould be apprehended as others had been; after which the Damſel being in the mean time in a very ſore fit, the forementioned *I. K.* prayed (tho not deſired) that God might ſend the Damſel her Health; whereupon the Damſel was no more troubled with theſe kind of fits; but did inſtantly recover, by falling into a ſwoon as ſhe us'd to do before her recovery out of any of her fits.

Tueſday March 16, ſhe was again ſeiz'd with her other fits, all the parts of her body being Stiff; and ſometimes ſhe was heard converſing with the Gentlewoman (as She call'd her) vindicating her ſelf of what the Gentlewoman alledged againſt her, *Viz. That ſhe had accuſed ſome innocent perſons as her Tormentors*, To which the Damſel diſtinctly Reply'd, *That ſhe was a Lyar, ſaying, it was you your ſelf, and no other ever mentioned any ſuch thing.*

Thus ſhe continued until the *Friday* after, being never free of the light Fits, and now and then alſo falling into Swoons, and appear'd to be almoſt choaked by the means of ſome Charms and Inchantments, inviſibly convey'd into her Mouth; which, to the Apprehenſion of Spectators, were like pieces of Cheſtnuts, Orange-Pills, Whites of Eggs, or ſuch like, all which were diſtinctly obſerved; when occaſionally in the Fit ſhe opened her mouth, and when the Spectators Eſſay'd to get them out, ſhe kept her Mouth and Teeth ſo cloſs, that no Man could open the ſame. And when recover'd out of the Fit, ſhe told, that *L.M.* a Woman living in the Neighbourhood, had put them in her mouth.

Upon *Friday, March* 19. She was violently Tormented with ſore Fits, in which her Neck was diſtorted, and bended back, like a Bow, towards her Heels, ſhe ſtrugling with her Feet and Hands, and was ſometimes ſtiff, blind and deaf, and voided at her mouth a great number of ſmall Pins, which ſhe ſaid the foremention'd *L. M.* had put there. About ſix a Clock that ſame Night, being violently Tormented, ſhe fell a Crying, *That if the Gentlewoman was not Apprehended that Night, it would be in vain to Apprehend her to morrow: For*, ſaid ſhe, *I have much to ſuffer at her hands betwixt Twelve and One a Clock in the Morning.* After this, the Damſel lifting up her Eye-lids with her Hands, and looking upwards, ſaid, *What art thou that tells me, that the Sheriff and my Father are coming here this Night?* After which the Sheriff, her Father, and *James Guthry*, Macer to the Juſticiary Court inſtantly came up ſtairs, to the Amazement of thoſe who remembred what the Damſel had juſt ſaid. The Girl continued afterwards Blind and Deaf, yet was heard, in the preſence of the Sheriff, *&c.* Diſcourſing diſtinctly with ſome Inviſible Being near her, ſaying, *Is the Sheriff come, is he near me?* and ſtretching out her hand to feel if any Perſon were near her, the Sheriff put his Hand in hers; notwithſtanding which, ſhe ſaid to the Inviſible Being, that Diſcours'd with her, *I cannot feel the Sheriff, How can he be preſent here? Or how can I have him by the hand as thou ſay'ſt, ſeeing I feel it not?* " Thou ſay'ſt he hath Brown " Clothes, Red Pluſh Breeches with Black ſtripes, Flowred Muſling Cravat, and an Imbroidered " Sword-Belt, Thou ſays, there is an Old Gray-Hair'd Man with him, having a Ring upon his " Hand; but I can neither ſee nor feel any of them: *What, are they come to Apprehend the Gentlewoman? Is this their Errand Indeed?* And the Girl being enquired at, How ſhe came to the knowledge of theſe ſtrange things? Reply'd, as formerly, in the like caſe, That ſomething ſpeaking

ing distinctly, as over her Head, suggested them to her. It is very observable, that the Persons aforesaid had that same Afternoon got an Order from the Commissioners of Justiciary to Apprehend the same Gentlewoman, and were so far on their way to put it in Execution against next morning; but being Witnesses to the Damsels Trouble, and hearing what she had told, *viz.* That a delay in that matter would prove exceeding dangerous to her, they went straight on in their Journey to the Gentlewomans Habitation, and put their Warrant in Execution that same Night; The Damsel continued to be Violently Tormented, sometimes lying with her Neck, and other parts of her Body upon the Ground, as if they had been disjoynted, and sometimes Essaying to throw her self into the Fire. About Ten a Clock, her Father (who had not gone with the *Sheriff*) began to Read in the Bible, and she repeated the Words after him, though Blind and Deaf, which made the Spectators to apprehend, that she had the sense of Hearing in those Fits, at least when the Word of GOD was read: To find out the truth of which, her Father ceas'd from Reading; yet she continued to repeat the following Verses of the Chapter, though none in the Room were Reading, and her self had no Book, but was heard to say to some Invisible Being, *Wilt thou teach me a part of the Old Testament as well as the New.* She continued in her Fits, and said unto the People that were present, *Now it is Twelve of the Clock; Oh it is now past Twelve*: sometimes lying as one dead through the violence of Pain, and decay of her natural spirits; sometimes again recovering, she Essayed to express somewhat, but could not; a great quantity of Crooked Pins issued out of her mouth, and her body being prodigiously distorted, she complain'd of great Pain. Thus she continu'd until half an hour after Twelve at Night; when, on a sudden, she recover'd, to the admiration of the Beholders, telling them, *She might now go to Bed*, being told by some Invisible Informer, That the *Sheriff*, and the other Gentleman, to wit the Macer, had now entred the Gentlewomans House; and accordingly going to Bed, she was no further troubled that Night. It is worthy of remark here, that the *Sheriff* and Macer, at their return, declared, that it was just about that time they entered the Gentlewomans House, which the Damsel mention'd.

Saturday, March 20. About Ten a Clock in the Forenoon, she was, of a sudden, seiz'd with Fits, falling down as dead, with her eyes closed, and sometimes again opening and turning in her head, she saw nor heard none about her, but was hurried with violence to and fro through the Room, crying with a loud Voice when any one offered to hinder her motion. Being in this posture, and deprived of her senses, *James Lindsay*, one of the Three that had Confessed, was brought into the Room, and no sooner entered the Door but was perceived by her, and she ran towards him smiling, saying, Jamie, *Where hast thou been this long time? How is it with thee?* And answered him distinctly to every word he spake, though, at the same time, she neither heard nor saw any other in the Room, nor could she Converse with them, which was tryed by several Experiments for that purpose, particularly a Tobacco-box, being held before her Eyes by one of the Company, she did not see it; but assoon as it was put in the hand of *James Lindsay*, she enquired at him, Where he had got that Box? She continuing in this condition, the *Sheriff* and her Father being present, thought it fit to Confront *M. M.* who was now come, to try if the Damsel would hear or see her, as she had done *James Lindsay*, which accordingly they did. And as soon as *M. M.* entered the Door, the Damsel (though still in the Fit) presently smiled and said, *I see the Gentlewoman now*: though she had never seen her Personally before, but only by her *Spectre* in the Fits. She likewise heard when she spoke to her, and Answered distinctly to some Questions proposed by her, such as, *When it was she had seen her Tormenting her.* To which she Answered, *She had seen her the other Night in her Fits*: And further Challeng'd her, *Why she had restrained her from making known the Highland Womans Name?* Adding, *Thou pretendest thou knowest not what I say, thou knowest well enough.* Upon which the Gentlewoman, on a sudden, (without being desired) Prayed, That the Lord might send the Damsel her Health, saying, "Lord help thee poor foolish Child, and Rebuke the Devil. Which words were no sooner uttered, then the Damsel fell down as Dead; and being carried to another Room forthwith recovered of her Blind, Deaf, and Light-headed Fit, became perfectly well, and continued so for some time: Being thus recovered, and *M. M.* removed into another Room, the Damsel was Examined, Whom she had seen in her last Fit? To which she reply'd, *She had seen the Gentlewoman*: Though, in the mean time, she was altogether ignorant of her having been personally present with her.

That same day the Commissioners of Justiciary being come to *Bargarren*, *M. M.* and the Damsel were again confronted, on which the Child (being in her light Fit) upon the first

look of *M. M.* was ſuddenly ſeiz'd with ſore Fits, and when recovered, accuſed her as being one of her moſt violent Tormentors, particularly mentioning ſuch and ſuch times in which She had in an extraordinary manner afflicted her, as alſo what words She ſpoke in her hearing while in the Fit, and which is yet more remarkable, did queſtion the Gentlewoman if She did not ſometime in *December* laſt when She was Tormenting her, remember how She went away from her in great haſt, ſaying She could ſtay no longer being obliged to attend a Childs burial at home. In confirmation of which it is very credibly informed that *W. R.* a near neighbour of hers had a Child burried that ſame day, and that the Gentlewoman came not in due time to attend the Corpſe to the burial place, but the Corpſe being near to the Church-yeard ere She reached the Houſe from whence they came, She returned again to her own lodging, and ſo did not accompany the burial at all.

The Lords day following being *March* 21. She fell into Swooning Fits, complained of a pain near her heart, and fell down as dead, not only when the Fits ſeiz'd her, but alſo during the Intervals, ſometimes Singing after an unuſual manner, and informing the Spectators that *J. G.* conſtrained her to that kind of Muſick, her own Lips not at all moving in the time, which the beholders ſaw to be true, but her Tongue mov'd, for preventing of which She frequently put her hand in her Mouth. At this time when either She her ſelf, or thoſe about her, offered to read any part of the Scripture, She was violently Tormented, declaring if She did but ſo much as hear the word of God read that day, She would certainly be extremly Tortured; in Confirmation of which when ſome eſſay'd to read *Heb.* 11. 2, 4. 6. *Iſa.* 40. *Pſal.* 3. She uttered horrid Shreeks and Out-crys, Complaining that *She was Pinched*, in evidence of which, the Prints or Marks of the Nails of Fingers were diſtinctly ſeen on her Arms, and being thus pinched or bitten four ſeveral times with great violence and pain, the Skin it ſelf was torn off thoſe parts of her Arms and Fingers where the Prints of the Teeth and Nails were obſerved; ſo that the parts affected fell a Bleeding, and her Blood was both ſeen and handled by the Spectators. While She was in this ſad and lamentable condition She ſeem'd to be extreamly affected and oppreſſed with ſore Sickneſs, as one in a Fever, crying ſometimes to *Remove thoſe Dead Children out of her Sight*; which She frequently repeated from ſix to nine in the Morning, She continued thus the reſt of the day, and it was obſerved that ſome Charms and Inchantments were put in her Mouth as formerly, of which being very ſenſible, She fell down on a ſudden to the Ground putting her hand to ſome Spittle which came out of her Mouth, and lifted up ſome Traſh which She again caſt down to the Ground, ſo as it made a Noiſe, yet nothing could be ſeen in her Spittle, nor elſewhere by Spectators, tho in her Mouth they could diſtinctly obſerve ſomething like Orange Pils, Whites of Eggs, and peeces of Cheſnuts.

Munday, Being *March* 21. the beforementioned *L. M.* or *J. G.* came to *Bargarrans* houſe, and being confronted with the Damſel, queſtioned her if ever ſhe had ſeen her in any of her Fits, alledging that ſhe withal could be none of her Tormentors, becauſe ſhe was not now ſeiz'd with a Fit, tho looking upon her, as ſhe us'd to be, when ſhe look'd upon any of her other Tormentors; upon which the Damſel being for ſometime ſilent, *L. M.* or *J. G.* did again propoſe the ſame queſtion, to which the Damſel diſtinctly reply'd *Yes*, upon which *L. M.* reply'd, perhaps you have ſeen the the Devil in my Shape.

As to this Conference there are ſeveral things exceeding remarkable, as firſt, that the Damſel upon her Anſwering, *Yes*, was immediatly ſeiz'd with a Fit. 2*dly*. That tho after *Katharine Campbel* had touch'd the Damſel in preſence of the Commiſſioners, upon the 5*th*. of *February* laſt, She had ever ſince that time freedom to touch any of her Tormentors without being ſeiz'd with her Fits, as has been hinted, yet true it is, that in the room of that Charm a new one took place, *viz*. When any time She looked upon her Tormentors in the Face, at the very firſt look She was ſeiz'd with her Fits; which Charm She declar'd was laid on her by the ſaid *L. M.* or *J. G.* And taken off again by her that very Morning before She came to viſit the Damſel, and this She ſaid was ſuggeſted to her by ſome inviſible beeing, ſpeaking diſtinctly over her head; and that therefore the Damſel now had freedom to look *L. M.* in the Face without being ſeiz'd with Fits, which for a conſiderable time before She could not do when confronted with any of her Tormentors. 3*ly*. It is yet more obſervable, that the ſame Morning before ever *L. M.* came to viſit her, it was told by the Damſel to ſeveral Perſons in the Family, that *L. M.* had taken off that Charm, of her being ſeiz'd with Fits when looking any of her Tormentors in the Face, but withal that She had laid on another it its room, to wit,

that as ſoon as the Damſel ſhould by words confer with any of her Tormentors, ſo ſoon ſhould She be ſeiz'd with a Fit, which accordingly was verified when She ſpoke to *L. M.* or *F. G.*

On *Tueſday March* 23*d*, The Damſel being aſleep in the Bed with her Mother about three a clock in the Morning was on a ſudden awakned (having for ſometime Struggled in her Sleep) in great fear and conſternation, and being ſeiz'd with her Blind and Deaf Fits, took faſt hold of her Mother, declaring to her Father and her, that the Devil was ſtanding near the Bed aſſaulting her, upon which She cry'd out ſuddenly: *God Almighty keep me from thy meetings. I'll die rather then go to them, I'll never thorow the Grace of God Renounce my Baptiſm; for I'll certainly go to Hell if I do it: Thou ſayeſt I'll go to Hell however, becauſe I am a great Sinner; but I believe what the word of God ſayeth, tho I have many Sins; yet the Blood of Chriſt cleanſeth from all Sin, and I will not add that great wickedneſs to my other Sins, which thou art tempting me too. Its no wonder thou lie to me ſeeing thou waſt bold to lie in Gods Face. I know thou art a Liar from the beginning; and the red Coat thou promiſeſt me, I know thou canſt not perform it. And altho I ſhould never Recover, I'm reſolv'd never to renounce my Baptiſm, It is God who hath kept me all this time from being a Witch, and I truſt he will yet by his Grace keep me, not becauſe of any thing in me, but of his own great Mercy, and that he who hath kept me hitherto from being devoured by thee, I hope will yet keep me.* This Conference continued near the ſpace of an hour, her Father, Mother and others being Ear Witneſſes to the ſame. And after recovery the Damſel declared that it was the Devil, who (in the ſhape of a naked Man in a Shirt, having much hair upon his hands and his Face, like Swines Briſtles) had appear'd to her tempting her as aforeſaid.

Until Sabbath following She continued in the light Fit, but withal every Morning and Evening was ſtill ſeiz'd with her ſore Fits, and continued ſtill to name *M. M.* (who was at this time ſet at liberty) the forementioned *L. M. E. I.* an Highland Woman, and others as being her Tormentors. It is fit to be obſerved here, that *M. M.* being ſet at Liberty upon Bail, the very day after She went home, She again appear'd to the Damſel tormenting her in her fits, and continued ſo to do ſeveral days, particularly on the *Saturday March* 27. after She was ſet at liberty: on which day the Damſel was heard name her in her fits, and ſaying to her, wilt thou ſay *God help me poor mad or fooliſh child as thou ſaidſt the other day before the Judges? art thou wiſhing the Devil to take me? where is the Habit thou waſt cloathed with the other day?*

On Sabbath Morning, *March* 28. the Damſel throw God's great Mercy towards her, was perfectly recovered from all her Fits, and became as Well, Senſible and Compoſed as ever.

If it be queſtioned, how the Truth of all theſe ſtrange Things is atteſted? There is none of thoſe Particulars, but had the Witneſſes Names inſerted at the end of every particular Paragraph, and were atteſted before the Commiſſioners for Enquiry at *Renfrew*, by the Subſcriptions of the reſpective Witneſſes. But ſeeing the placing of them ſo now, would have occaſioned the repetition of ſeveral perſons Names and made the Narrative ſwell too much; Therefore we judg'd it fitteſt to ſet down the Names of the Chief Witneſſes altogether at the end of the Narrative; and the rather becauſe thoſe things fell not out in a private Corner; but Thouſands in this Countery have been Eye and Ear Witneſſes of 'em, and been fully convinced of a Diabolical hand in the Affliction of the Damſel: We ſhall only here make mention of a few, *Viz*, beſides the Father, Mother, Grand-mother, and neareſt Relations of the Damſel, and ſervants of the Family, who were always preſent with her in her Fits: ſuch of the Commiſſioners for Inquiry, and of Juſticiary as had occaſion to be on the place of the Events, were as follow, the Lord *Bantyre*, Mr. *Francis Montgomery* of *Giffen*, Sir *John Maxwell* of *Pollock*, Sir *John Houſton* of *Houſton*, *Alexander Porterfield* of *Porterfield*, the Laird of *Black-hall* younger. the Laird of *Glanderſtone*, the Laird of *Craigens*, *Porterfield* of *Fullwood*, *John Alexander* of *Blackhouſe*, Mr. *Semple* Sheriff of *Renfrew*: And ſeveral other Honourable perſons of good Senſe and Quality as the Earl of *Marſhal*, the Laird of *Orbiſton*, the Laird of *Killmarnock*, the Laird of *Meldrum*, the Lairds of *Biſhopton* Elder and Younger, *Gavin*, *Cochran* of *Craigmure*, *William Denneſton* of *Colgrain*, Dr. *Mathew Brisben*, &c. And ſeveral Miniſters, who kept days of Humiliation and Prayer weekly in the Family, and ſometimes in the Parish-Church with the Congregation, *viz. Mr. James Hutchiſon*, *Miniſter* of the Goſpel at *Killelan*, *Mr. Patrick Simſon* of *Renfrew*, *Mr. James Stirling* of *Kilbarchan*, *Mr. Thomas Blachwal* of *Paiſly*, *Mr. James Brisban* of *Kilmacolme*, *Mr. Robert Taylor* of *Houſton*; and of Neighbouring Presbytries, Mr. *Neill Gillies*, Mr. *James Brown*, Mr. *John Gray* Miniſters of *Glaſgow*, while the Damſel was

there; Mr. *John Ritchie* Minister of Old *Kilpatrick*, Mr. *Alexander King* of *Bonnil*, Mr. *Archibald Wallace* of *Cardross*, Mr. *John Anderson* of *Drymmen*, Mr. *Andrew Turner* Minister of the Place, who was frequently there: besides Mr. *Menzies* of *Cammo*, and Mr. *Grant* of *Cullen*, Advocates; who were Eye and Ear-witnesses to several important passages of the Damsels Affliction, and the convincing Evidences of its flowing from the Operation of the Devil, and his Instruments. The Truth whereof is further demonstrated by the Progress and Issue of the Tryal, at which were present, at several Occasions, not only Sir *John Hamiltoun* of *Halcraig*, one of the Senators of the Colledge of Justice, Sir *John Shaw* of *Greenock*, Commissar *Smollet* of *Bonnill*, Mr. *James Stewart* Advocat, who were concerned in the Commission with the others before-mentioned: But also a great Confluence of several of the Nobility and Gentry out of the Countrey, such as the Earl of *Glencairn*, the Lord *Kilmares*, the Lord *Semple*, &c.

The Report *made by the* Commissioners *appointed by His Majest's* Privy-Council *for* Enquiry: *And of the* Confession *of* Elizabeth Anderson, James Lindsay, *and* Thomas Lindsay; *Transmitted by those Commissioners to the* Council, *before granting of the Commission for a* TRIAL. *To which is subjoyned, the Sum of the Confessions of* Margaret *and* Jannet Rogers, *who did Confess* (During the Tryal) *of the Rest, beyond Expectation. Together also with an* Account *of the Confession and Death of* John Reid, *who made a Discovery Agreeable to that of the former Witnesses, after the* Trial *was over. And, in the last place, there are added some Passages which fell out at the* Execution of the Seven WITCHES *who were Condemned.*

THE Commissioners for Enquiry having met at *Bargarran* in *February* 1697, did Chose the Lord *Blantyre* for Chairman, and took the Confession of *Elizabeth Anderson*, Aged about 17 Years, as follows.

"That about Seven years ago she stayed with *Jean Fultoun* her Grand-mother, "and Playing about the Door, she saw a Black Grim Man go into her Grand-"mothers House: After which, her Grand-mother came to the Door, called her in, and desi-"red her to take the Gentleman (as she Nam'd him) by the hand; which she did, but find-"ing it very Cold, became Affraid; and immediately he Vanish'd. About a Month after, "her Grand-mother and she being in the House together, the said Gentleman (whom she "then suspected to be the Devil) appeared to them, and fell a Talking with her Grand-mother, "and whispering in one anothers Ears: Upon which, the Grand-mother desired her to take him "by the hand, being a Friend of hers; but *Elizabeth* refusing, her Grand-mother threatned, "that she should have none of the Cloaths promised her unless she would obey: Yet *Elizabeth* "withstood, saying, *The Lord be between me and him*; whereupon he went away in a Flight, but "she knew not how. *Elizabeth* was not troubled for a long time after, till her Father desiring "her to go with him a Begging through the Countrey; and she saying, That she needed not "seek her Meat, seeing she might have Work; her Father pressed her to go along with him, "and took her to a Heath in *Kilmacome*, where were gathered together, at that and other subse-"quent Meetings, *Katharine Campbel*, *Margaret Fulton* (her Grand Aunt) *Margaret Lang*, "*John Reid*, Smith; *Margaret* and *Janet Rodgers*, the three *Lindsays* (besides the two Confes-"sing ones,) &c. and several others whom she did not know, and the foresaid Gentleman with "them; he came to her the said *Elizabeth*, bidding her Renounce her Baptism, promising that "if she would consent thereunto, she should have better Meat and Clothes, and not need to "Beg. But (as she declared) she would not consent. Then he enquired what brought her "thither? she answered, That she came with her Father: Whereupon the Devil and her Fa-"ther went and talked together apart, but she knew not what. She declares, that in that "Meeting was conserted the Tormenting of Mr. *William Fleeming* Minister of *Innerkip*'s Childe,

" The said *Elizabeth* Confeſſes she was at another Meeting with that Crew above the Town of " *Kilpatrick*, with the foreſaid Gentleman, whom they called their Lord: And that she went " with her Father to the Ferrie-boat of *Erskin*; where the Devil, with the reſt of the Band, " Overturn'd the Boat, and Drowned the Laird of *Bridghouſe*, and the Ferriman of *Erskine*, with " ſeveral particular Circumſtances concerning that affair, as that ſome of the Crew would " have ſaved the Ferriman, but one of them, *viz.* His Mother-in-Law gainſtood it, becauſe he " had expelled her out of his Houſe a little while before the Meeting. She acknowledges she " was preſent with them at the deſtroying of *William Montgomeries* Child, by ſtrangling it " with a Sea Handkerch; that having entered the houſe, they lighted a Candle which was " ſomewhat Blewiſh, and *Agnes Naiſmith* ſaying, what if the People awake, *Margaret Fulton* " replyed, ye need not fear: She alſo declares, that about five Weeks before the date, " her Father brought her on foot to *Bargarran's* Orchard, into which they entred by a breach " in the Wall, and there were preſent the Perſons before-named, *&c.* and the Devil, who told " them, that no Body would ſeem them, at which they Laugh'd. At this Meeting, they, with " their Lord, contriv'd the Deſtruction of *Chriſtian Shaw*: Some being for ſtobbing her with a " a Rappier, others for Hanging her with a Cord, a third ſort for Choaking her, and ſome in- " tended to have her out of the Houſe to Deſtroy her; but fearing they might be taken " before the next Meeting, their Lord (as they call'd him) gave them a piece of an " Unchriſtened Child's Liver to eat; (but the Deponent, and the other two Confeſſers avoided " the Eating of it) telling them, That though they were Apprehended, they should never " Confeſs, which would prevent an effectual Diſcovery: And further, ſeveral of them being " affraid that the Deponent would Confeſs, and Diſcover them, as she had formerly done her " Grand-mother, they threatned to Tear her in Pieces if she did ſo; and particularly *Margaret* " *Laing* Threatned her moſt. After two hours, or thereabouts, they diſappeared and flew away, " except the Deponent, who went home on her Foot. She Confeſſes likewiſe, That one Night " her Father raiſed her out of her Bed, and going to the River ſide, took her on his Back, and " flew with her over; from whence they went on foot to *Dunbritton*, and in Mr. *John Hardy*, the " Miniſters Yard the Crew and their Lord being met, they formed the Picture of Mr. *Hardy*, " and dabbed it full of Pins, and having put it amongſt Water and Ale mixed together, Roaſt- " ed it on a Spit at a Fire, *&c.* After which her Father and she returned in the ſame manner " as they went.

James Lindſay, (Aged 14 Years) Declares, " That one day he met with the Deceaſt *Jean* " *Fulton* his Grand-mother, at her own Houſe, where she took from him a little round Cap, " and a Plack, or $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Penny; at which being vexed, he required them from her again, and " she refuſing to reſtore them, he called her an *Old Witch*, and ran away; upon which she fol- " lowed him, and cryed, That she would meet him with a Vengeance. About three days af- " ter, being a Begging in the Countrey, he met his Grand-mother with a Black Grim man, " whom she deſired him to take by the Hand, which he did, but found it exceeding Cold, and " his own Hand mightily ſqueezed; whereupon the ſaid Gentleman (as she termed him) ask- " ed the Deponent if he would ſerve him, and he should have a Coat, Hat, and ſeveral o- " ther things; to which *James* anſwer'd, *Yes, I'le do it*: And after this, the foreſaid Gen- " tleman (whom the Deponent knew afterward to be the Devil) and his Grand-mo- " ther went away, but knows not how. He acknowledges he was frequently after " at meetings with the DEVIL and WITCHES, particularly thoſe mentioned in *Eli-* " *zabeth Anderſons* Confeſſions: that their Lord came to *James* at the firſt publick meeting, " took him by the hand, and forbad him to diſcover: that they contrived before hand at the " ſaid meeting the drowning of *Brighouſe*, and concurrs with *Elizabeth Anderſon*, as to the deſign " of ſaving the Ferriman, which his Mother in Law did divert. He being examined, declared he " did not ſee *J. K.* and *J. W.* at the committing of the foreſaid Fact: (And indeed they were " then in priſon; that they with a Cord ſtrangled *Mathew Park's* Child; and that the Perſon " who waited on the Child finding it ſtifled, cryed out *Mathew, Mathew, the Child is Dead: Eli-* " *zabeth Anderſon* concurrs in this particular; and tells that when they had done, they took the " Cord with them. He declares, that he was preſent at ſtrangling *William Montgomeries* Child " with a Sea handkerchief, and heard *Agnes Naiſmith* ſay *draw the knot.* That about five Weeks " ſince he was carryed to them in *Bargarrans* Orchard, and concurrs with *Elizabeth Anderſon* in " what was treated there, as to the deſtroying *Chriſtian Shaw*, and the Charm againſt Confeſſing.

He

" He likeways acknowledges the Meeting in *Dunbritton* about Mr. *Hardy*: And that he has " several times appeared to *Chriſtian Shaw* both in *Glaſgow* and *Bargarran*, with the reſt that " Tormented her, and put in her Mouth Coal cinders, Bones, Hay, Hair, Sticks, *&c.* Intending " thereby to Choak her: That he and they did oft-times Prick and Stob her in the following " manner, *viz.* He had a Needle which if he put in his Cloaths, her Body would be pricked " and ſtobed in that place where he fixt the Needle, and if he put it in his Hair, that part of " her Head would be Tormented: That he ſaw her void the Pins they had put in, on which " time he cryed out in theſe words, *Help J. D.* who was alſo then preſent: That when the " Miniſters began to pray in *Bargarrens* Houſe at ſeveral occaſions, the Devil and they im- " mediatly went away, *&c.*

" *Thomas Lindſay* being under Age, declares that the ſame *Jean Fulton* his Grand-mother a- " waked him one Night out of his bed, and cauſed him to take a Black Grim Gentleman (as " ſhe called him) by the Hand; which he felt to be cold: And who having enquired if *Thomas* " would ſerve him and be his Man, and he would give him a Red Coat, he conſented: And the " Gentleman (whom he knew afterwards to be the Devil) pinch'd him in the Neck which " continued ſore for Ten days. That one day after his Grand-mothers deceaſe, coming by her " Houſe, he thought ſhe appeared to him ſtroaking his Head, and deſiring him to be a good " Servant to the Gentleman to whom ſhe had given him, and forbid him to reveal it. He de- " clares, that one Night lying in bed in the houſe of one *Robert Shaw*, he was awaked out of his " ſleep and carried as if he had flew to *Mathew Parks* Houſe, where were preſent the particular " perſons named by him, and concurrs as to the manner of ſtrangling of the Child with *James* " *Lindſay* his brother: And that another Night being in the Houſe of *Walter Alexander*, he " was brought to the ſtrangling of *William Montgomeries* Child, and agrees likeways in the man- " ner of it with his brother; only he ſayes the Sea-handkerchief with which they committed the " Fact was ſpecled. He likewiſe concurrs as to the Meeting in *Bararrans* Orchard about five " weeks ago, and in what was acted there. As alſo about Mr. *Hardy*; with this Addition, " That he himſelf turned the Spit on which the Picture was roaſted, *&c.*

It is to be obſerved, that as the three Confeſſers were apprehended ſeperatly upon ſeveral occaſions, ſo (after their obſtinacy to diſcover was abated) they made theſe Confeſſions in ſeveral diſtinct places without Communication, without knowledge of one anothers Confeſſions. The Commiſſioners Examined them by other trying Queſtions that were new, on purpoſe to make Experiment of their Agreement, or Diſagreement: But ſtill found them to agree in, the matters of Fact (declared by them,) particularly in Strangling of the Children, the Death of the *Miniſter*, the Drowning of thoſe in the Boat, and the Tormenting of *Bargarrans* Daughter. The Commiſſioners did alſo Confront them both with *Chriſtian Shaw* the afflicted Girl, and the other perſons accuſed (whom they had cauſed to be apprehended) and both the Girl and the Confeſſers did accuſe them to their Faces, and con- vince them by Circumſtances with great ſteddineſs and agreement, tho ſeparatly brought in. The Commiſſioners did alſo try ſome Experiments about the Girls falling in Fits on the Ap- proach of the Accuſed, as is expreſt in the Narrative; and Examined her, with thoſe who were commonly about her, as to the particulars of her Sufferings: They tryed to cauſe her to Write (ſince ſhe could not ſpeak) the Name of a Perſon, whom ſhe firſt called *Margaret*, or *pinch Maggie*, and aſſerted to be one of her Chief Tormenters. But, upon Writing *Marga- ret*, and the Letter *L.* of her Sirname, the Girl was preſently taken with a fearful Convul- ſion, the Pen was ſtruck out of her hand, and she fell Dead, with heavier Groans than ordina- ry: After her Recovery, ſome *Miniſters* ſhew'd her a Paſſage of the *Bible*, but aſſoon as she attempted to caſt her eyes on it, she fell into vehement pangs; but one of the Commiſ- ſioners ordering the *Book* to be cloſed, she immediately came to her ſelf, *&c.* In the laſt place, the Commiſſioners called before them thoſe Perſons who had *ſigned* the Paſſages of the ſeveral days in the Written Journal of the Girles ſufferings; and, having Examined them upon it, trauſmitted the ſame, with the Declarations of the Three Confeſſers, and ſeveral of the Paſſa- ges that occurred in the Precognition, to His Majeſtys Privy Council, by whom they were appointed to Enquire into the matter.

Beſides all this, the ſigned Atteſtations of Dr. *Mathew Brisbane*, Phyſician, and Mr. *Henry Mar- ſhall* Apothecary in *Glaſgow*, did very much Influence them to the belief of an Extraordinary Cauſe of thoſe things that befel *Katharine Shaw*.

The

The DOCTOR's Atteſtation.

ABOUT the 24*th* or 25*th* of *October* laſt, the Lady *Bargarran* brought a Daughter of hers, a Child of Eleven years old, or thereabouts, to *Glaſgow*, to take Advice of Phyſicians concerning her. When I was firſt brought to her, I could hardly be perſwaded there was any need of me, or any man elſe of my Profeſſion; the Child appeared ſo brisk, and vigorous in motion, ſo cheerful, and of ſo florid and good a Colour, and, in a word, to outward appearance, every way healthful; but, it was not long, till I found my ſelf obliged to alter my Thoughts of her; for, I had not been above Eight or Ten minutes in the Room by her, till she aroſe from her ſeat, and acquainted the Company, that she was inſtantly to be ſeized with a Fit; and ſo being ſtraightway carryed to bed, I obſerved a conſiderable ſtiffneſs and diſtention in her left Hypocondre, which falling in a tryce, she was taken with horrid Convulſive motions in moſt parts of her body, but her back and neck eſpecially; this was accompany'd with heavy Groans at firſt, which, ſo ſoon as she was able to frame Words, were converted into a kind of Expoſtulatory murmuring againſt ſome Women, two whereof she always Named; one of them she called *Naſmith*, (as I remember,) and the other *Campbel*: All theſe Symptoms, I thought, were very reduceable to the effects of Hypocondrick melancholy; and therefore putting her in ſuch a Courſe, as I thought proper, againſt that kind of Malady, I was in abſolute Security, as to her Caſe; The Child having continued free from all the above-mentioned ſymptoms, for the ſpace, I think, of a Week in this Town, and ſome Eight or Ten days more in the Countrey. And I was perfectly ſurprized, when a Friend of the Lady *Bargarrans* told me, That the Child was returned to Town again, and worſe than ever; for now she was in great hazard of being Choaked with mouthfulls of Hair, which she apprehended the Women above-named to be preſſing down her Throat, had not she her ſelf pulled it out.

Having read many ſuch Stories in *Authours*, and heard the like from other hands too, but never ſeen any ſuch thing, I was the more earneſt to ſee the Child again; and, for ſome Weeks that she ſtayed in this place, I was frequently with her, obſerved her narrowly, and was confident she had no Humane Correſpondent to Subminiſter the Straw, Wool, Sinders, Hay, Feathers, and ſuch like Traſh to her; all which, upon ſeveral occaſions, I have ſeen her pull out of her mouth in conſiderable quantities, ſometimes after ſeveral Fits, and at other times, without any Fit at all, while she was Diſcourſing with us; and, for the moſt part, she pulled out all theſe things, without being wet in the leaſt; nay, rather, as if they had been dryed with care and art: for one time, as I remember, when I was Diſcourſing with her, and she with me, she gave me a Sinder out of her mouth, not only dry, but actually hot, much above the degree of the Natural Warmth of a Humane Body. During the time she was thus Exercis'd, though she had daily, not only light Convulſive motioos, but Two ſtrange Convulſions, ſuch as we call τετανοὶ, to a high degree and rigidity of the whole Body; yet she fancyed, as at other times, she ſaw many ſuch People, as have been already named, about her; but the Voiding, or rather Pulling out of the things above named, did no ſooner ceaſe, bnt, as in all her Fits, when she was able to ſpeak, she conſtanſtantly cry'd out, That they were Pinching, or Pricking her: Thoſe Fits were both more ſevere, and more frequent than before, and followed with an Alienation of mind for ſome time. I have ſeen her too when otherwiſe, free of all Fits, ſuddenly ſeiz'd with Dumbneſs, her Tongue, being ſtrangely contracted, that it appeared, to her ſelf, as she expreſſed it, as if People were drawing it down her Throat. This I Declare on *Conſcience*, and in moſt Solemn manner, is what I have ſeen and handled; and, were it not for the Haires, Hay, Straw, and other things, *toto genere*, contrary to Humane Nature, I ſhould not Deſpair to reduce all the other ſymptomes to their proper Claſſes in the Catalogue of Humane Diſeaſes. Written and Signed at *Glaſgow* the Thirty Firſt day of *December*, 1696. By me, *Sic Subſcribitur*, *A. Brisben*, M. D.

The Declaration *of Mr.* Henry Marſhall, *APOTHECARY.*

Being deſired by John Shaw *of* Bargarran, *to Declare what I know of his Daughter* Chriſtian's *Condition, I do it as follows.*

ABOUT the latter end of *October* laſt, she was brought hither to have Dr. *Brisbens* Advice about her Health, and I was Imployed as Apothecary. The Child was about Eleven years of Age, of a good habit of Body, as far as I could judge; but now and then fell into Convulſions, Swoons, and a little Lightneſs of Head; and when recovered, out of thoſe Fits, she would be perfectly well again; and, by the Uſe of the means the Dr. Preſcribed, she ſeemed to be free of her Diſtemper: whereupon she was taken back to the Country; but, had not been long there, till she became worſe then before, and was ſent hither again to be under the Doctors Care; and after her Fits she took out of her mouth, without any Preſſure, or Vomiting, Tufts of Hair, Straw long, and folded together, burnt Coals, pieces of Bones, Leather, Chips of Timber, and ſeveral other things, divers of which she hath taken out of her mouth and given to me, while we were converſing together: And upon the 20*th* of *November* laſt, when I went to ſee her, I found her in a Swoon, whereinto she had fallen juſt as I came to the Houſe: when she had lain ſo for ſome time, she aroſe in a great Rage, beat all about her, Frowning with her Countenance, and uttering a great deal of unknown Language in an Angry manner: Then she put the Tuft of a Highland belt, with which she was Girt, into her mouth, and pulled, with her hand, ſo hard, that if we had not cut the belt with a Knife, she had, in all probability, drawn out her Teeth; whereupon she tore the Tuft all to pieces with her Teeth, and afterward fell a Tearing her Cloathes, and her ſhooes which she pulled off, and every thing she could get into her hands; then she fell into a Dumb Fit, as she termed it, wherein all her Body was ſo Convelled and Diſtorted, that I endeavoured to put her Armes into a better poſture, but found them ſo ſtiff, that I could not bring them to their Natural Poſture without breaking them: Then she aroſe out of that Fit, and went up and down the Room, and would have gone through the Wall, muttering the former unknown Language; after this she fell headlong upon the ground, as if ſhe had been thrown down with Violence, where she lay for ſome time as Dead, but afterward aroſe, as if she had been ſomewhat Recovered, and fell a Reaſoning, very diſtinctly, thus; Ketie, *What aileth thee at me, I am ſure I never did thee wrong? Why ſhould thou Trouble me? Come, let us Agree, let there be no more difference between us*: and putting out her hands, as if ſhe would take her by the hand, ſaid, *Let us ſhake hands together*: then pulling in her hand again, she ſaid, *Well*, Ketie, *I cannot help it, you will not agree with me*: and having pronounced thoſe Words, immediately she fell into another Fit, and Swoon'd; and out of that into another Rage, wherein she bit her own Fingers, and tore her Hands upon Pins that were in her Cloathes; after which ſhe appeared Angry, pulled out all the Pins, and threw them away. And after she had been thus Tortured for more then half an hour, without any intermiſſion, she Recovered, and became perfectly well: Whereupon I Asked her, How ſhe was? To which she Reply'd; She had juſt now a very bad Fit, for, during the Fit, she knew no body, neither took any notice of me, though I moved her Body, and ſpoke often to her: I asked her again, What she ſaw in her Fits? she replyed, *I ſaw* Katherine Cambel, Agnes Naſmith, Alexander Anderſon, *and others that ſhe did not know.* I enquired again, What *Katharine Cambel* was doing? She told me, *She was going to thruſt a Sword into her ſide, which made her ſo deſirous to be agreed with her*: And when she had told me this, inſtantly ſhe fell into another Swoon, and Repeated all that was ſaid before, and much more, which I have partly forgot: and in each of thoſe Two Fits she continued halfe an hour. All this I Declare upon *Conſcience*, and in moſt Solemn manner, to be a Truth; In Teſtimony whereof, I have Writ and Subſcribed this at *Glaſgow*, the Firſt Day of *January*, 1687. *Sic Subſcribitur*,

Henry Marſhall.

While

While the Trial was depending *Janet* and *Margaret Rodgers* confeſſed in this manner, The Commiſſioners had adjourned to two ſeveral times; and though they were to meet on the Third, yet it was not expected that they would proceed till Providence ſhould make the Guilt of the Priſoners appear by the further teſtimonies of thoſe who might confeſs; but on the very morning before they were to meet the third time, thoſe two Women abovemention'd, Confeſſed which was a ſurprize to every one that came to attend the Court, ſince theſe Women were not formerly taken notice of as others were; but confeſſed of their own free motion without any perſons deſiring it, nor had they ſuch means of inſtruction as were adminiſtred to others: Their confeſſions agreed as to the meetings and the things acted in them with thoſe of the three former, and the other evidences of viſible matters of Fact: Only they were ſo punctual as to Name ſome of the indited perſons whom they did not ſee at thoſe Rendevouzes; and great care was taken to compare their Teſtimonies with what had been already diſcovered, and to try their certain knowledge by new queſtions when they were ſeparated from one another, *&c.* Thus the whole matter was ſo evident that the Commiſſioners, with the general Approbation of the moſt intelligent Men of the Countery, who came to attend the Court, approv'd the going on of the Proceſs, and bringing ſeven of the beſt known Criminals, (for whom an Advocat appeared) to Trial; accordingly there were ſome days allowed for the Perſons indited to give in their Informations upon the finding of the Bill: and at the Term, there was much time ſpent in producing Wittneſſes, an account whereof is referred to another place.

Upon the 21*th.* of *May* 1697. After Trial of the Seven Witches, there is an Atteſtation Subſcribed by M. *Patrick Simſon* Miniſter of *Renfrew*, *Walter Scot* Baily there, *&c.* of this import, *John Reid* Smith at *Inchennan* priſoner, did in preſence of the ſaid perſons and ſome others, declare, that about a Year ago the Devil (whom he knew to be ſuch thereafter) appeared to him when he was travelling in the Night time, but ſpoke none to him at the firſt encounter. At the ſecond appearance he gave him a Bite or Nipp in his Loyn; which he found painful for a Fortnight. That the third time he appeared to him as a Black Man, *&c.* Deſired him to engage in his Service upon aſſurance of getting Riches and Comfort in the World; and that he ſhould not want any thing that he would ask in the Devils Name: And then he renounced his Baptiſm, putting the one Hand to the Crown of his Head, and the other to the Sole of his Foot; thereby giving himſelf up to Satans Service: After which the pain of the Bite or Nipp ceaſed. He told that hitherto there was none others preſent with them; but afterwards he was at ſeveral Mettings, particularly that in *Bargarrans* Yard, about the time when there was a Faſt for *Chriſtian Shaw*, where the Devil appeared in the ſame kind of Garb as he firſt appeared to him, and they conſulted *Chriſtians* Death either by Worrieing or Drowning her in the Well; and the Devil ſaid, he ſhould warrand them, that they ſhould neither be Heard, Seen, nor Confeſs, to which end he gave every one of them a bit of Fleſh, that the Deponent got one of them, but let it fall, and did not Eat it. He afterwards own'd this Confeſſion in preſence of the Laird of *Jordanhill*, the Miniſter, Mr. *Andrew Cochran* Town Clark, and Baily *Paterſon*; And being enquired at by *Jordanhill* how they were advertiſed of their Meetings, he ſaid that ordinarly at their Meetings the time of the next was appointed; but for particular warning there appeared a Black Dog with a Chain about his Neck, who tinkling it, they were to follow, *&c.* And being enquired at by the Miniſter if he did now wholly renounce the Devil (for he had formerly told how Satan had not performed his promiſe) and give himſelf to Jeſus Chriſt, and deſire to find mercy of God through Him: he aſſented thereunto. It is to be obſerved that *John Reid* after his Confeſſion had called out of the priſon Window, deſiring Baily *Scott* to keep that old Body *Angus Forreſter*, who had been his fellow priſoner, cloſs and ſecure; whereupon the company asked *John* when they were leaving him on *Friday* night the 21*th.* of *May*, whether he deſired company or would be afraid alone, he ſaid he had no fear of any thing: So being left till *Saturday* in the Forenoon, he was found in this poſture, *viz.* ſitting upon a ſtool which was on the Hearth of the Chimney, with his feet on the floor and his Body ſtraight upward, his ſhoulders touching the lintel of the Chimney, but his Neck tyed with his own neck-cloath (whereof the knot was behind) to a ſmall ſtick thruſt into a hole above the lintel of the Chimney, upon which the Company, and eſpecially *John Campbel* a Chyrurgeon who was called, thought at firſt in reſpect of his being in an ordinary poſture of ſitting, and the neck-cloath not having any drawn knot, but an ordinary one which was not very ſtrait, and the ſticks not having the

ſtrength to bear the weight of his Body or the ſtruggle; that he had not been quite dead; but finding it otherways, and that he was in ſuch a Situation that he could not have been the Actor thereof himſelf, concluded that ſome extraordinary Agent had done it, eſpecially conſidering that the Door of the Room was ſecured, and that there was a board ſet over the Window which was not there the night before when they left him.

We ſhall add but little as to what paſt at the Execution of the Seven Witches, becauſe there is no Subſcribed Atteſtation concerning it: And the Deſign of the Publiſher is, to Advance nothing but what ſtands Warranted by Teſtimonies of known Credit beyond Contradiction. Yet this is well known, that when they were going to the Stake, "One of the *Lindſays* was over-"heard to ſay to the other, *Now, Brother, it is high time that we ſhould Confeſs, ſince our keeping* "*it up will ſerve us to no purpoſe*, or the like Expreſſion; To which the other Anſwered, *That* "*they ſhould never do that*, &c. And *Margaret Lang*, before Execution, own'd, "That when "the Devil firſt appeared, ſhe knew him not to be ſuch till afterwards; That he gave her the "Inſenſible Marks found upon her Body: She yielded to engage her ſelf in his Service by a "Covenant; And beſides Publick Meetings, ſhe had been above 80 times in private Confe-"rences with him. Being asked by a near Relation of her own, as to her being in *Bargarrans* "Houſe, Tormenting *Chriſtian Shaw*, ſhe Anſwered in theſe Words; *The Devil having an Abſo-*"*lute Power and Dominion over me, carryed my Shape whither he would*: And it is known how ſhe Confeſſed Unnatural Luſt, and Profound Hypocriſy, &c. Thongh truely it did appear from her Mein, and other Circumſtances, that theſe things dropped from her at Seaſons, when Natural Ingenuity, and the Vigour of Truth got the Aſcendant over the Devil. So *Agnes Naſmith*, &c. frequently told the Miniſter, *That their Hearts and Tongues were bound up in ſuch a manner, that they could not expreſs what they would*: And ſometimes it appear'd by Ocular Inſpection of their Viſage, that Convulſive-Damps did ſeize their Heads, when they attempted to make any ſuch Diſcovery.

There are Two Remarkable Inſtances in the Caſe of *Katharine Campbel*, who was the Chief Inſtrument and Author of the Girles Trouble, *viz.* An Eminent *Miniſter* Diſcourſing, before Reputable Witneſſes, to the ſaid *Katharine*, and Enquiring, if ſhe did not diſtinctly remember the Godly Counſels, and Gracious Admonitions, which *Chriſtian Shaw*, while in a Fit, (mention'd in the *Narrative*,) gave her at a certain time? And Inſtancing ſome particulars thereof; She Anſwer'd, with heavy Groans, *Yes, I Remember*. But being Asked, Why she would not Confeſs the reſt, as well as that Paſſage? And finding her ſelf thereby to be caught, she began to Retract, and ſeemed to be Confounded. This happen'd while she was in Priſon, before the Tryal: And after it, in preſence of ſeveral Witneſſes, she ſpoke theſe words, *That the Doom pronounced on her was moſt juſt, and that ſhe could not free her ſelf of Witchcraft*: But, upon ſuch Attempts, she fell down Dead, ſtrangely diſtended, and that ſix or ſeven times Succeſſively, with a Suddenneſs, that was both ſurpriſing and convincing to the ſpectators: On which occaſion it was obſerved, that immediately before her falling into thoſe Fits, and upon her Eſſaying to ſpeak, when things were Charged home to her Conſcience; her mouth ſeemed to be Contracted, and she uttered heavy Moans; whereupon Convulſions followed; and after riſing out of them, she turned more Obſtinate and Inflexible: And whenever there was any appearance of her being more Plyant, the foreſaid Fits did overtake her.

I ſhall only add ſome Paſſages which were omitted in the *Narrative*, but are Atteſted by ſome of the ſame Perſons that were Witneſſes to the other matters mentioned therein.

Particularly, the Girle Declares, That in one of her Conflicts with the Devil, he told her, how a certain *Miniſter* (for whom she had a ſpecial reſpect) did Compile his Sermons throughout the Week; what Books he chiefly made uſe of; and ſeveral other matters, as to his method of ſtudy in his Cloſet, that no *Mortal* could know by ordinary means: By which, no doubt, *Satan* did partly deſign (though by a very falſe Argument) to raiſe the eſteem of *Books* above *Sermons* Collected out of them: Cencealing, in the mean time, both the Gift of improving Helps, and the bleſſing promiſed to the Hearer of the Word Preacht. When the Lady *Bargarran* received the two pieces of Red Cloath, that the Girl had torn from one of the Witches ſleeves, as is before-mentioned; ſhe locked 'em up, and kept the Key: Notwithſtanding which Caution, ſome Friends having come to Viſit the Girle, and being deſirous to ſee the ſaid Pieces of Cloath; she being in one of her Fits, Laughed, and ſaid, That her *Mother* needed not to ſeek for them in the place where they were Locked up; the Witches having taken them away, and laid them in a Corner of the Cellar; and accordingly being ſearched for, they were

found in the particular place she mentioned. Another such Passage happened to a Friend of *Bargarrans*, who went with him to sollicit a Commission from the Council: For he having brought along with him those pieces of Cloth, buttoned up in his Pocket, and secured them, as he thought, they were missing in the morning; but, after search, found at a good distance from his Pocket, though no visible thing had been in the Room to open it, or carry them off.

In the last place it is to be observed, that the young Girl, *Christian Shaw*, discovers a great sagacity in her Discourse and Observationss, but accompanyed with extraordinary modesty: she observed, among other things, that the Doors and Windows did open and shut upon the Entry of the Witches, and that there was, at no time, such a number of them about her, as the Room might not very well contain, with the visible Persons that were present therein: she observed them to shift their Place with a great Agility, when any other came into it, or offer'd to Attacque them, upon her Pointing where they were: And she often Averred from the Instance of the Spirit that Spoke to her above her Head, told their Names, and gave her other Means of discovering of them, *&c.* That Satan does often Contrive their Ruine, by the most Undiscernible Methods he can; because, if he did it openly, it would scare others from Engaging with so Faithless a Master, *&c.*

Two LETTERS, *Giving an Account of what appeared most* Material *or* Curious *in the TRYAL of the* Seven WITCHES.

THE Truth of the strange Things mentioned in the preceeding Narrative was at first carefully searched into only by private Persons: But at last became so notorious, that, upon Application founded on a Journal of those extraordinary Events, and attested by many of the Gentry in the Country; the Privy Council gave a Commission for enquiring into it.

The Honourable Persons to whom this was recommended, did, with great Impartiality and Exactness, make a Report: which influenc'd the Government to order the Execution of Justice on some of those Witches, who otherways, might have lurked without being discovered.

For, hereupon, the Council directed a second Commission, for Trial of those who appeared to them to be most Charged by the Evidence of the Witnesses, produc'd on the First Commission. Several of the Judges were not only persons of Honour, but also of singular Knowledge and Experience, and accordingly proceeded with extraordinary Caution, and were so far from Precipitancy in the Affair, that, after several Diets of Court they adjourned to a long Term, that, in the mean time, the Prisoners might be provided of Advocates.

Accordingly an Advocate appeared for them, and managed their Defence with all the Accuracy that could be expected. There were above Twenty Hours imployed, at one Diet, in Examination of Witnesses: And the Jury being shut up spent about six Hours in comparing the Evidence: Whereupon Seven of the most notorious Criminals were Convicted and Condemned.

The Crimes charg'd and proven against them, were not meer spectral Imaginations; but obvious and plain matter of Fact: *viz.* The Murders of some Children, and Persons of Age; and the Torturing of several Parsons, particularly *Bargarran*'s Daughter: And both these, not at a distance, but contiguously by natural Means of Cords, Pins, and the like. Besides the other ordinary Works of Witchcraft, such as Renouncing Baptism, entering in Contract with, and Adoring the Devil in a Corporal shape, *&c.* which could not but be sustained as sufficient ground for a Trial in *Scotland*, since there is an expres Statute *Parl.* 9. *Act.* 73. Queen *Mary* ordering such persons to be put to Death.

To make the Probation the more convincing, it was adduced orderly in three Periods. The first consisted of unsuspected Witnesses, who proved Facts: From whence it was necessarly inferred, That there was Witchcraft in the Case. The Second did include, also unexceptionable Witnesses, who Deponed upon Facts; which made it Probable, if not necessary, that the Persons indited were the Witches. The Third did comprehend six Positive Testimonies, of those who did See and Hear the Witches committing the Crimes charged in the Inditement.

The only valuable Subject of Debate, was as to the Import of these last Testimonies; five whereof were by Confessants, who had been at the Meetings in which the Crimes were committed, and the sixth of *Bargarran*'s Daughter, who was one of the Persons afflicted. The antecedent part of the Probation was by Witnesses beyond Exception; And the Judges upon a long Debate did sustain Four of these Six only *Cum Nota*, and Two of them to be Examined without Oath. So nice were they in favour of the Criminals Lives, since some of these Witnesses might have been admitted in such a Crime without any Quality, by the most scrupulous Judicatory in Europe. But all things were carried on in this Procedures with Tenderness and Moderation: For even the Advocates, who were sent to prosecute the Enditement by His Majesty's Council and Advocate, did not act with the Byass of Partys; but on the contrary, shewed an equal Concern to have the accused Persons absolved, if it could be found compatible with Justice.

This is the Reason for which the Publisher doubts not, but the two following Letters (one whereof gives an abridgment of the Advocates Speech to the Jury, and the other, of their Answers to the Objections against the Confessant Witnesses) will afford a satisfying view of the chiefest part, of the Trial: since the Objections which were, or might have been made are therein Stated and Answered, or Anticipated and Prevented; and the intended Brevity would not premit to print at this time the whole Process, which being extant upon Record, any who are Cautious may have easy access thereunto.

There is scarce any need to take notice of a late Scurrilous Pamphlet, that has been Printed in *England*, pretending to give an account of those proceedings: For any who reads it may easily find, that the Author has been either Fool or Knave, or both, there being neither good Language, Sense nor Truth in the most part of it.

The First LETTER.

SIR,

YOU having told me, that the odd Passages which occur in the West, have put many of your Neighbours and your self, upon reading all the Books you can get that treat of Witchcraft: And therefore desired me to transmit to you my Observations at the Trial: I shall not Prepossess your Opinion by giving them in my own Form; but herein I send to you the exactest Copy of the Advocates Speech to the Jury that I could obtain; and by the next Post you shall have something more Curious: *viz.* A Collection of their Answers to the Objections against the Six last Witnesses, that were adduced for concluding the Proof: Having these, you will want little that could be agreeable to such an accurat Pallat as yours is.

The SPEECHES *to the* JURY *were to this Effect.*

Good Men of the JURY;

YOU having sitten above Twenty Hours in hearing the Evidence: And being now to be inclosed, where, its like, you will take no small time to Re-consider and Compare it: We shall not detain you with summing up the same in Particular; but shall only suggest some Things, whereof it is fit you take special notice in your perusal of it: *viz.* 1*st*. The Nature of your own Power, and the Management thereof. 2*dly*. The

Object of this Power which lies before you; wherein you are to consider, in the First place, Whether or not there has been Witchcraft in the Crimes libelled? And, in the Next place, whether or not these Prisoners are the Witches?

As to your Power, it is certain, that you are both Judges and Witnesses, by the Opinion of our Lawyers and Custom: Therefore you are called out of the Neighbourhood, as presumed best to know the Quality of the Prisoners, and the Notoriety of their Guilt or Innocence. Your Oath is, That you shall all Truth tell, and no Truth conceal; which does plainly imply, That you are to Condemn or Absolve, according to your own Conscience. Such is the excellent Constitution of Juries in *England*: and ought to hold more specially in this Circumstantiat Case, where there is such a Chain of different Kinds of Probation concurring against the same Prisoners, as will appear by the Review thereof in its proper place.

We are not to press you with the ordinary Severity of threatning an Assyse of Error, in case you should Absolve; but wholly leave you to the Conduct of God and your own Consciences, and desire that you proceed with all the Care of the Prisoners Lives that is possible for you, as the Honourable Judges have set to you a desirable Pattern, by their great Caution in this matter.

As to the Probation it self; you see, that it is divided into Three Parts, *viz.* The extraordinariness of the Crimes: The Probability of the concurring Circumstances: And the Clearness of the positive Probation.

As to the First part, The Crimes, or *Corpora delicti*, are proven by Unexceptionable Witnesses, to have fallen out in such an odd and extraordinary manner, that it points out some other Cause, than the ordinary course of Nature, to have produced those Effects.

For clearing of this, particularly in relation to the Torments of *Bargarran*'s Daughter, you may consider not only the extraordinary Things that could not proceed from a Natural Disease, which ly proven before you; but also several other Matters of Fact, which is Notorious; have been seen by some of your selves, and ly here in a Journal of her Sufferings: Every Article whereof is attested by the Subscriptions of Persons of entire Credit, before the Honourable Commissioners appointed by His Majesty's Privy Council, for making Enquiry into the Matter.

This Girl's throwing out of Hair, Pins, and Coals of greater heat than that of her Body or Blood; as also so dry, that they appeared not to have come out of her Stomack; nor had she any press of Vomiting at the time, that she declared the same to have been put in her Mouth by her Tormenters: Is deponed by Doctor *Brisban*, in his Opinion not to proceed from a Natural Cause.

She was not Tormented by any of the Criminals after their Imprisonment: Except two Nights by *Katharine Campbell*; which being a Surprise, it was thereafter discovered, that these two Nights the Jaylor's Wife had let out *Katharine Campbell* to Spin in her House.

She having been speaking to one of her Tormenters as present (tho' Invisible to the By-standers) and asking how her Tormenter had got those clouted Red Sleeves; she suddenly gets up, takes hold of them, the Company heard the Noise of the cloaths tearing, and she pulls away two pieces of red Cloth, which all the By-standers beheld with amazement in her Hands: Nor was there any other piece of this kind of Cloth to be found in the Room at that time.

She told, that her Tormentors were giving her a Glass of Sack, an Orange pile, &c. (thereby ensnaring her to accept of a Favour from them) and accordingly she was seen to move her Lips, and to have the Orange-pile betwixt her Teeth; tho' there was no visible Hand that could have done it.

She advertised before-hand, that one of her Tormentors was to be at the Door at a particular Hour: And that another of them was in the Kitchin; before any did tell her thereof: which accordingly fell out: And these being brought to her presence, became obnoxious to the ordinary Means of Discovery.

When her Glove fell down from her, at a time that several Persons were about her: it was lifted up again by a Hand invisible to them.

She was not only transported throw the Hall and down Stairs, without perceiving her Feet to touch the Ground: But also was hurried in a flight up Stairs: And when a Minister endeavoured to retain her; he found a sensible weight, besides her own Strength drawing her from him.

When

When she complained, that her Tormenters had bitten and scratched her; the marks of the Nails and Teeth were seen upon her Skin, with Blood and Spittle: about the wounds, which were above Twenty four; while neither her own, or any others Teeth that were visible, could have done it.

She was most vehemently distorted, upon attempting to Tell, or even to Write the Names of her Tormenters: yet that ceased as to any of them, how soon that person was accused by any other, and particularly she had liberty, after many painful Attempts, to Accuse *Margaret Laing*, so soon as the Charm of Hair to restrain her (which *Margaret* had left behind the Door) was found and burnt; the Girl having told it to have been lost, as mentioned in the Depositions.

She did throw out no more Hair after the finding and burning of a Ball of Hair, of the same Colour and Kind with that thrown out by the Girle (in *Katharine Campbell*'s Pocket) with Pins in it.

After *Agnes Nasmith* had Prayed for her, she did appear to her, but not Torment her.

She foretold, That her Tormenters had Conserted to throw her, at a certain Hour, in a fit, (whereof they did forewarn her, on Design to Fright her, to Renounce her Baptism by the Terror) and had left one of their Number to execute it: And accordingly there was a Woman with a Red-Coat seen under a Tree in the Orchard, and the Torment was brought on at the time appointed.

When she told, That there was something Tormenting her under the Cloaths; the spectators saw the Bed-cloaths move in an extraordinary manner, after the Girle had been raised out of them.

When she complained that she was Beaten: the By-standers heard the Noise of the strokes.

She Cried out at a time, That her Thigh was hurt: And one of the Company having searched her Pocket, found a Knife; but unfolded: However, having folded up the same, and put it in a second time, she Cries out a-new: And, upon the second search, (though secured by the spring) it is found open, to the great wonder of the beholders; since they did watch, that no visible thing could have possibly opened it.

She told of a Charm under the Bed: And accordingly it was found in the shape of an Egg, which melted away being put into the Fire: She told also, That her Sifter that was Boarded abroad, had Charms put above her in the House, and would not recover of the decaying sickness till she were brought out of it: And accordingly, the Child being brought home, straightway recovered.

She told of their Meeting in the Yeard of *Bargarran*, for Consulting about the destroying of her: And accordingly the Confessants have Deponed, That they did meet and Consult her Ruine in that place.

The *Story* about her telling, That the Commissioners, though at Three Miles distance, had granted a Warrant to the *Sheriff*, to Apprehend one of her Tormenters: Her giving so perfect an account of the Sheriff, and of Mr. *Guthrie* who was with him, while her Eyes were cieled and fast: Her being in excessive Torments (as she fore-told till that Person was apprehended, and immediatly thereupon, tho' at many Miles distance, her telling that her Tormenters were now taken, betwixt Twelve and One a clock in the Morning; and the Sheriff when he returned, did declare the Seisure to have been about that time: Is so notorious and so well attested that we need only to put you in mind of it.

Her falling in Fits upon the sight, or Touch of her Tormenters, was no effect of Imagination: For she was fully hood-winked with a Cloak, so as she saw no body whatsoever; yet upon the approach of her Tormenter, she immediately fell down dead: whereas she no ways startled upon the Touch of any other: Which Experiment was tried for ascertaining this Mean of Discovery.

In the Last place, She is naturally *Sagacious* and *Observing*: And discovered her Integrity in the face of the Court. For when the President asked, Whether or not she knew one of the Prisoners Names that was to be pricked? she answered, That though she knew her well enough of her self; yet one had told her the Name of this Prisoner when she was sent for to be confronted with her: So far did this Girle discover her Aversion from any thing that might seem intended to aid the Natural Evidence of Truth Unfairly: and her Firmness to the utmost against Temptations of becoming a With; particularly against the last Assault of Satan, wherein he

perſwaded her at leaſt to go to their Meetings; and ſhe anſwered, That ſhe would not follow ſuch a baſe fallen Creature: And he rejoyning, That ſhe would go to Hell however for her other Sins; and ſhe Anſwering, That he was a Liar from the beginning, and the Blood of *Jeſus* would cleanſe her from all Iniquity: Whereupon he diſappeared, and ſhe perfectly recovered upon the Sabbath thereafter, was an happy end put to this fearful Tragedy of Witchcraft, and confirms, to Conviction, the Reality of it.

As to the *Murdering of the Children*, and the *Miniſter*, charged in the Inditement; you may obſerve ſeveral Extraordinary things appearing in them; particularly, the Witneſſes Depone, the Miniſter to have been in Exceſſive Torments, and of an unuſual Colour, to have been of Sound Judgment; and yet he did tell of ſeveral Women about him, and that he heard the noiſe of the Door opening, when none elſe did hear it. The Children were well at Night, and found Dead in the Morning, with a little Blood on their Noſes, and Blewneſs at the Root of their Ears; which were obvious Symptoms of Strangling: Beſides, that the Mother of one of them cried out, *Matthew, Mathew, the Child is dead.* And the Houſe of the other was Whitened within, with ſifting of Meal the Night before. Both which Particulars were told and diſcovered by the Confeſſants, before the Witneſſes, which now concur with them in it, were Examined.

Secondly. The Second part of the Probation conſiſts of ſeveral *Adminicles*, or Corroborating Evidence proven by Unſuſpected Witneſſes, which lead us to ſuſpect thoſe Priſoners to be *Witches*, as ſo many Lines drawn from a Circumference to a Center, and as an Avenue to the poſitive Probation thereafter adduced: And theſe either ſtrike at the whole Priſoners in General, or ſome of them in Particular. In General we need not enumerate all theſe Adminicles, but remit you to the Probation, which is ſo full concerning it; only you will be pleaſed to take notice, that it is clearly proven, that all the Accus'd have inſenſible *Marks*, and ſome of them in an extraordinary manner; That moſt of them have been long reputed Witches, and ſome of them in 1687. by a Confeſſing Witch, whoſe ſubſcribed Confeſſion has been produced. You ſee that none of them do ſhed Tears, nor were they ever diſcovered to do it ſince their Impriſonment, notwithſtanding their frequent Howlings: So that it is not a ſudden Grief or Surpriſe. And Finally, That the Girle fell in Fits of Torment upon the Priſoners approach to her, and that ſhe did name them all frequently, either in, or out of her Fits.

In particular, you ſee how *Katharine Cambell* was provoked by this Girles diſcovering her Theft; whereupon ſhe has brought in the reſt of her Confederats to act the following Miſchiefs: How thereupon *Cambell* did Curſe and Imprecate in a terrible manner: How ſhe ſtayed out of her Bed at Night, and was frequently Drouſie in the Morning: How ſhe was named by the Girle, particularly the Two Nights ſhe was out of Priſon: The Ball of Hair was taken out of her Pocket and Burnt; whereupon the Girle's voiding of Hair at her Mouth did ceaſe: She could not expreſs one word, even when on her Knees, of Prayer for the Girles Recovery: And the Inſenſible Marks on her were very remarkable.

Agnes Naſmith did not Torment the Girl, after ſhe had Prayed for her: She was reputed a Witch, and hath the Marks. She came early in the Morning to *Bargarran*'s Yard, when, by her refuſing to go in, it appeared ſhe had no Buſineſs: Yea, it is plain, that ſhe had a Reſentment, becauſe ſhe got not a greater Alms the laſt time ſhe was there. The Girl declared *ex incontinenti*, that *Naſmith* asked her Health and Age; which, in theſe Circumſtances, was a ſhrewd Preſumption of her Evil Deſign: And ſhe acknowledged her ſelf to have done this, when ſhe asked the Age of another Child; wherein, by Providence, ſhe was befooled; ſince that which ſhe thought would have been an Excuſe, tended to diſcover her Guilt. And Laſtly, After this appearance of *Agnes Naſmith*, the Girl did take her firſt Fit, and nominate her amongſt the firſt Tormentors.

Margaret Lang, that Great Impoſtor, has been a Maſter-piece of the Devil; ſhe has Confeſſed Unnatural Luſt, which is known to ſome of your Number. She ſat near the Door, where the Charm of Hair was found, which the Girle declared did keep up her Tongue; and, upon burning thereof, it was looſed. The Girle fell in Fits upon her approach; She has notable Marks; particularly one, which the Confeſſants declare ſhe lately received; and, by Inſpection, it appears to be New. When ſhe came from her private Converſation (no doubt with the Devil) ſhe Raged as if ſhe had been Poſſeſt, and could not but declare, that ſhe expected a Violent Death. She looked in the Face of *James Miller*'s Child, and asked her Age, whereupon that Child Sickned the ſame Night, and Named *Margaret Lang* on her Death-bed. It appears ſhe was ready to ſhow to *Janet Laird* a ſight of her Mother, who had been

ons; particularly, you may remember, how six hours ago, when the Witnesses were examined on the Ball of Hair found with *Katharin Campbell*, a Gentleman (*Mr. Stewart* of) heard her say to *Katharin* in the Ear; *This is well bestow'd on you, because ye would not put it away when I desired you*, &c. VVhich the said *Mr. Stewart* did openly testifie in Court upon Oath; Notwithstanding which this Impudent VVretch had the Confidence to deny it, tho *Katharin Cambell* also Confest, That she had pulled her, and had Spoke somewhat to her, to which she did not advert, which was no wonder, the VVitnesses Deponing, at the time being close upon *Katharin*.

Margaret Fulton was reputed a VVitch, has the Mark of it; and acknowledged, in presence of her Husband, that she made use of a Charm; which appeared full of small Stones and Blood. That her Husband had brought her back from the *Faries*; and her Repute of being a VVitch is of an Old Date; besides her being named often by the Bewitched Girl.

As to the *Lindsays*, they all have the Mark; and were all of a long time Reputed to be VVitches. *John Lindsay* of *Barloch* was accidentally discovered by the Girles taking a Fit upon his coming to the House. *John* and *James Lindsays* were Accused by a Confessing VVitch in *Anno* 1687, VVhich Confession is Publickly Read before you; And there was Money given to the Sheriff-depute for the delaying of the Pursute. *James Lindsay* appeared to *William Semple* suddenly, and Flew about like a Fowl, for an opportunity to strike him, in Revenge of the Quarrel mention'd in the Deposition, and at last prevailed to strike him dead over a VVall. And Finally, which is a Remarkable Indication, both of Truth and Providence, the very VVitnesses adduced in Defence of the *Lindsays*, Deponed so clearly against them, even beyond the Pursuers VVitnesses, that their Advocate was daunted at it; and thereupon desisted from calling any more VVitnesses to be Examined in their Defence.

It is true, some of these Indications may be in One, and others of them in Another, either from Nature or Accident; and yet that Person not be a VVitch: But it was never heard or read, that all these Indications, which are so many Discoveries by Providence, of a crime that might otherways have remain'd in the dark, did ever concur in one and the same *Individual Person* that was Innocent: Yea, on the contrary, they, by the VVisdom and Experience of all Nations, do as convincingly discover a VVitch, as the symptoms of a Leprosie concerted by all Physicians argue the Person affected with the same to be Leprous. But grant they are not sufficient of themselves: yet their *Tendency* and *Meaning*, being cleared and applyed to their proper cause, by a plain and positive Probation; There wants no more to determine you as to the Prisoners Guilt. And therefore,

Thirdly. As to the *Third* Part of the Probation, VVe remit the *Positive Depositions* of the Confessants, and against whom they do concurr, wholly to your own Perusal and Examination: Only be pleased to take notice. *First*, Some things which very much Add to the Credibility of their Testimonies, arise from their Examination in Court. *Secondly.* We shall Explain to you the Import of the Word *Nota*, which is added to the Decree of the Judges, admitting these last Witnesses.

As to the *First*.

Elizabeth Anderson is of sufficient age, being Seventeen; yet so young and punctual, that her Deposition appears no effect of *Melancholly*: She accused her Father to his face when he was a dying in the prison, as now there are two of her Aunts in the Inditment, which certainly must proceed from the strength of Truth, since even *Dives* retain'd a natural affection to his Relations. She went on foot to the Meetings with her Father, except only that the Devil transported them over the Water of *Clyde*, which was easy to the Prince of the Air who does far greater things by his *Hurri-canes*; she tells that *Montgomeries* House was *Meallie* when his Child was strangled: And she declares that she never renounced her Baptism; but was carried along by the compulsion of a Parent: So that nothing can be objected against her Testimony in any Judgement, much less in an *Excepted Crime*.

James Lindsay it is true, is of less import: yet by his Weeping when he came in and was admonished of the greatness of his guilt, it appears that he had a Sense of it: he hath a natural Precipitancy in what he speaks, yet that is commonly the concomitant of Ingenuity, as importing his Expressions not to be fore-thought. He concurrs in most things with the others, and yet he has declared, that he saw not *Margaret Fulton* at *Dumbartoun*, &c. Which implys that he does not file the Prisoners all at Randome, but tells what occurred to his Senses, &c.

Janet and *Margaret Rodgers* are instances of a singular Providence, for they did confess the

ſame Morning that the Court did laſt ſit, of their own proper motion, there being neither Miniſters nor Judges by them at the time. *Agnes Naiſmith* is *Janets* Relation, and ſhe tells that ſhe never ſaw *Katharine Campbel*, as *Margaret* declares that ſhe did not ſee *John Lindſay* of *Barloch*: which plainly demonſtrats that they tell only the dictats of their Natural Conſcience ariſing from diſcretion and knowledge of the true matters of Fact: They both profeſſed their Repentance laſt Sabbath in the Church: And do perſiſt with a great Firmneſs, and you ſee their Deportment in deponing to be Congruous and Exact.

Thomas Lindſay and *Chriſtian Shaw*, being under age, we did not preſs their being put to an Oath; yet you ſaw that they did declare in Court againſt theſe Criminals in ſuch an Harmony with the reſt of the Deponents, and gave ſuch a cauſe of their knowledge, That it is certain their youngneſs in years Adds extreamly to the Credit of their Teſtimony: Becauſe thereby it is incredible, that they could have contrived or executed the acting ſo by Concert.

As to the *Second*.

Since theſe Witneſſes are admitted by the Judges; it neceſſarily inplyes, that they meant them to be probative; only they added the words *Cum nota*: That is, you muſt take notice, or *Notandum eſt*. That there muſt ſomething elſe concurr to prove the Guilt of the Priſoners, beſides the Depoſitions of any two ſuch Witneſſes: But ſo it is, that all the Circumſtantial Evidence, on which you have ſeen Probation led, for more then Sixteen Hours of your time, are ſtrenghtening Evidences, of thoſe Witneſſes Credibility, and cannot but have been taken notice of by you as inferring the ſame things which they Depone. Whereby the *Nota* is fully taken off by the concurrence of four other poſitive Teſtimonys, agreeing with that of two of theſe Witneſſes: by the *Extraordinarineſs* of the *corpora delicti*: by the *Probability* of *Circumſtances*: And finally by the whole *Chain* of this Affair, and the Sparkles of an Infernal Fire, which in every place have broke out of it.

It is true there are ſome few of the Circumſtances that are proven only by one Witneſs. But as to this, you may conſider, 1*ſt*. That a Witneſs Deponing *de facto proprio*, is in Law more credited than any other ſingle Witneſs: And this is the preſent Caſe as to ſome of the Circumſtances. 2*dly*. The *Antecedent*, *Concomitant*, and *Subſequent*, Circumſtances of Fact, do ſuſtain the Teſtimony and makes the *Semi-plenary* Probations to become full. But, 3*dly*. The other Circumſtances, undoubtedly proven by concurring Witneſſes, are *per ſe*, *ſufficient*: And therefore you ſaw us, at the deſire of the Judges, forbear to call the far greateſt part of our Witneſſes; becauſe the time had already run to ſo great a length, and it was thought that there was already enough proven of preſumptions: For it may as reaſonably be imagined, that the moſt Regular and Curious Scheme had emerged from the fortuitous concourſe of Atoms roving without Rule, as that ſo many Indications ſhould *Concenter* againſt each of theſe Priſoners, and yet they remain Innocent of Witchcraft.

Now upon the whole, you will take notice, that Preſumptions being vehement, make a more certain Probation then Witneſſes: Becauſe Preſumptions are Natural Emanations of the thing it ſelf, which cannot be bribed: Whereas Witneſſes are obnoxious: So in our Law there was one condemned for Theft, another for falſhood, and a third for Murdering of a Child, meerly upon Preſumptions, as is related by Mc. *Keinzie* in his Criminal Treatiſe: much more may Preſumptions, add to the credit of, and take off the *Nota* from, poſitive Witneſſes, For it is a groſs miſtake, that ſeveral proofs, which have each of them ſome Import, may not be joyned to make a full Evidence, the ſame way as two ſmall Candles in a Dark room, will not ſuffice; yet ſeveral others being added to them, will make a ſufficient light, to diſcover the Murderer: Two Boys will be able to carry a Weight which one of them would not be able to ſuſtain; as two units make a full number: One Witneſs of whatſoever dignity proves nothing; yet out of the Mouth of two or three Witneſſes every Truth ſhall be eſtabliſhed. And finally, Tho one Coal make not a Fire that can do the work; yet ſeveral Coals added to it encreaſe the Flame; which is hoped will be ſufficient for the operation.

We ſhall therefore leave you with this Concluſion, That as you ought to beware to condemn the Innocent, and ought to incline to the ſafeſt ſide: ſo if theſe Priſoners be proven legally guilty; Then, *as to what is paſt*, your Eye ought not to ſpare them, nor ought you to ſuffer a Witch to Live: And, *as to the future*; in doing otherways you would be Acceſſory to all the Blaſphemies, Apoſtacys, Murders, Tortures, and Seductions, *&c*. Whereof theſe Enemies of Heaven and Earth, ſhall hereafter be guilty, when they are ſet at Liberty. So that the queſtion ſeens ſimply to come to this, whether upon your Oath *de fideli*, you can

ſwear,

swear, That the Prisoners, notwithstanding all that is proven against them, are not guilty of Witchcraft? In the Determination whereof we pray God may direct you to the right course.

The Jury being inclosed near six Hours, brought in their Verdict to Court, that they found the Inditement.

I am, &c.

The Second LETTER.

SIR.

I have Collected according to my Promise, what appeared to me most *Specious* in the Reasonings, either in Court, or private Conversation about receiving of the Confessants as Witnesses. You are not to imagine, that the Prisoners were Condemned on the Credit of these: For I do believe the Probation by unexceptionable witnesses, led antecedent to this last, was so pregnant, that the Prisoners might have been Condemned on it, tho' these last had not been adduced.

I may have missed the Energy of the Argument sometimes, in a Case which in it self is so abstruse: However, you have it in such manner as I was able to comprehend it; as follows.

IN order to the more satisfactory Answering of the Objections made against these last Witnesses, we shall first, lay before you the *State* of the Case: And, then, clear up the *Determination* of it.

As to the First, The Question is not, whether Partners in the Crime, or others mentioned in the Objections, can be a Concluding Proof of themselves, tho' two of them should concurr as to the same Act of Witchcraft: But whether the *Corpora delicti* appearing already to imply Witchcraft, and the extrinsick Presumptions being so pregnant, to infer that these Prisoners are the Witches: there concurring such Characters, as by the observation of all Nations and Ages, are the Symptoms of a Witch; particularly the Marks, Fame, not shedding of Tears, &c. which are Providencial Discoveries of so dark a Crime, that like Avenues lead us to the Secret of it. And finally, when six persons of different Ages and Stations, five Confessants, and the Girl, do, when separatly examined, agree in their Answers to every material Question that is put to them, even tho' it be New; so that it could not be concerted: We say, whether or not in such a Case may Witnesses be received to compleat the Evidence by a Positive Probation, of a Matter of Fact which is the Object of Sense, tho' otherways they be liable to exception, if such Extraordinariness of the *Corpora delicti*, Clearness of the Circumstances, and of the Diagnosticks of the Witches; did not preceed them; as you have seen it proven they do?

The Case is not, whether these Witnesses would be good in an Ordinary Crime, which commonly happens to be exposed to other Witnesses, then those concerned in it: But whether they can be received in this *Extraordinary*, *Occult*, and *Excepted Crime* of Witchcraft; wherein there are two special Cases to be consider'd; *viz.* Sometimes the Acts thereof are open, and admit the choise of Witnesses; such as Charms used in the Day-time, when the Actor is visible. But that part of Witchcraft, whereby Witches meet in the Night-time, Adore their Lord, contrive their mischievous designs, and accordingly afterwards put them in Execution, when other Witnesses are asleep, or the Witches themselves are covered from sight: We say, that this can be no otherways proven than by these that are privy to it, joyned to the Positive Proof and Presumptions before-mentioned.

We do not alledge, that Persons altogether destitute of Knowledge and Natural Conscience are to be admitted in any Case, such as Infants, Mad, Foolish Persons, &c. Neither do we contend, That *Thomas Lindsay* and *Christian Shaw*, who are under Age, should be put to their Oath; for they are only to be examined separatly before the Court, upon Queries, by which it may appear, whether or not they agree with the four other Confessants, that are to Depone

pone before them; and this is the Prisoners Advantage in case of Disagreement: But we insist, that any Person above Nonage, giving Evidences of considerable Knowledge and natural Conscience (which is a sufficient Fond for all the Credit that we need in this Case, that is already almost fully proven) is to be received as a Witness.

As to the *2d.* We shall make this as clear as Noon-day. *1st.* From Reason and the Nature of the thing. *2dly.* The unanimous Judgment of Lawyers in all Nations and Ages. *3dly.* Our own Customs and Decisions. And *4thly.* The Singularity of this Circumstantiat Case.

As to the *First.* The going to, and coming from Meetings, especially on Foot; the falling down, and worshiping the Devil there, under a Corporal shape (which he had when he tempted our Saviour to do it) The actual Murdering of Children by a Cord and Napkin; and the Tormenting of Others by Pins, *&c.* are plain Objects of Sense: And therefore the Senses are to be believed concerning them. For as Reason hath Things Intelligible, and Faith Things Supernatural; so the Senses have Things Corporeal to their Object, as to which they are to be trusted, until it be Proven, that the Appearance is Impossible, or that the Witness of it, is an Impostor. It is part of the Witches Purchase from the Devil, that they cannot be seen on some occasions: So that the Abominations committed then would remain unpunished, if such Witnesses were not admitted. It cannot be thought that Witches (who of all Criminals are the most backward to Confess) would venture the loss of their own Lives, by Deponing against others, against whom they have no special Picque; yea, for whom they have particular Affection, as several of the Prisoners are some of the Witnesses Relations. Nor has the Devil any peculiar Intereft to Instigat them thereunto: For several of the Prisoners have confessed other execrable Crimes: Whereby it cannot be supposed, That Satan would be divided against himself. God in his ordinary Providence has taken such care of publick Judgments, that the Enemy of Justices special Power ceases as to that, as appears by the Witches not being able either to do more Harm, or to escape, after God's Ministers begin to counteract Satan's Instruments by Imprisonment. And finally, the oddness of the Crimes, the Concurrence of the Presumptions; and the existence of Matters of Fact, wherein these Confessants (tho' not knowing the same otherways) do agree with other unexceptionable Witnesses, *&c.* Do sufficiently add to their Credibility: For as Falshood being a Crime, is never presumed; so a Person found true in many things, is still presumed to continue such, till the contrary be evinced.

As to the *Second.* *Socius criminis &c. admittitur si delictum sit nefandum Men. A. F. Q. l. 2d. P. C. cas. 474. N. 27. seq. aut occultum & veritas aliunde haberinon posit Mas. vol. 1. Con. 466. N. 6. aut difficilis probationis Farin. lib. 2. Op. Criminalium. Tit. 6. Q. 63. N. 28. Mas. vol. 3d. Con. 1360. N. 4th. Menoch. l. 2d. Cas. 116. l. 1st. Q. 58. nocturno tempore comissa quæ dificilis dicuntur probationis Boer. decis. 68. N. 6. Menoch. D. Cas. 116. N. 14. Ideoque non solum presumptiva & conjecturata probatio sufficit, verum etiam inhabiles admittuntur farin. l. 2d. Tit. 6. Q. 55. N. 40. Masc. l. 2. Con. 1124. N. 13. idem in dilictis commissis in Eremo, Nemore, Monte aliove loco secreto, Gomez. Var. res, Tom. 3d. C. 12. N. 21. Far. D. Tit. 6. Q. 62. N. 55. sed occultum non dicitur quod actu non intervenerint, at quod de Natura delicti vel ratione loci & temporis alii testes habitu intervenire non potuerint: ut est Maleficium in quo socius criminis, &c. admittitur. Men. l. 2d. Cap. 5. Cas. 474. N. 33. Campeg. te test. Reg. 86. Valleu. 6. Crotus de Test. part 4th. N. 97. Oldindorp. de. Test. Til. de personis testium N. 21.* In a word all Lawyers who have writ particular Treatises on Witchcraft in *Germany, Italy, Loven, France,* and *Spain,* &c. Do conclude, that inhabile Witnesses; and particularly *Socii* are to be admitted in VVitchcraft: only the strictest of them do think, that this Admission is to be *cum nota*; or as *Delrio* in the place cited for the Prisoners expresses it, *ex his solis*, the Judge is not to Condemn, nor do we require it.

As to the *Third.* We have the Testimony of our Famous *K. Ja. 6th. Demon. lib. 3. C. ult.* telling us, That it is our Law, that Boys, Girls, infamous Persons, *&c.* Are not to be rejected any more in Witchcraft, than in humane lese Majesty, even tho' they assert others to have been present at Imaginary Meetings: Because this supposes their having entred into a Pre-contract: He says, that Satan's Mark, and the want of Tears, are pregnant Aids to the Discovery, *Quod Deus prater naturæ ordinem voluit esse secretæ imanitatis judicium, & eo non permittente ut fediss imi criminis pertinaciam dissimulent.* He gives an instance of a Girl, who having named several Witches in her Fits, they were all Condemned upon other concurring Presumptions. This is not a common Author, but a Man who as Curious, was Exact: As Prudent did not publish such things without the Approbation of the best Divines and Lawyers: as a Prince, is to be

Credited

Credited about the Law of His own Country; and as a King has determined any doubt that might have remained in this Point, as far as the Law of our Government will permit.

But further our Judges and Lawyers have followed His Majesty: For in all the Processes in the Journals; Fame, and Accusation, and the Mark, are still sustained, as most pergnant Presumptions; upon which, and a very small Probation besides, Witches have been frequently Condemned. So in the Processes against the Bewitchers of Sir *George Maxwel* of *Pollock*, and *Hamilton* of *Barns*, *Anno*, 1677. *Socius criminis*, tho under Age, is sustained to be a Witness: And Witnesses are adduced before the Jury for proving, that the Mark was found npon some of the Witches. *Women* and *Minors* have been received by multitudes of Decisions cited by *McKenzie*. *Tit. prob. by Witnesses*, and *Tit. Witchcraft*. And he also cites Decisions, where, in paralel Cases, *Socii Criminis* and others inhabile were admitted; particularly in Treason and in Falshood: And all Lawyers conclude, That Witchcraft is as much an excepted crime as these.

As to the 4*th*. What ever inhability these witnesses might be under, it is fully made up, and they rendred unexceptionably Habile by the Chain of this whole Business. It is true one Man thro the concurrence of corrosive Humors, may have an insensible Mark; another be enviously defamed: A Third may thro sudden Grief or Melancholly, not be able to weep, *&c*. A Fourth may be loaded with suspitious Circumstances, when extraordinary things fall out in the Country: And a Fifth may be deponed against by two false VVitnesses, tho neither of these separatly be truly VVitches. But by the known Observation and Experience of Mankind, none except VVitches have had the unhappy Medley and Concurse of All or Most of these *Indicia*, and ordinarly, and for the greater part, VVitches have them: So that since the Rules of Judgment are established upon that, *Quod plerumque fit*, which does obtain till an exception be apparent in a special case, the Conjunction of these in one person, does as plainly give his Character, as the most certain symptoms of the plainest Disease, being universally concerted in all parts of the VVorld, points out to us that the haver of them is a person truly affected with that Disease, whereof he hath the concurrent Diagnosticks. In a word, one or other of these may concurr in the Innocent; but no VVriters do Attest, that all of them have concentred in any other person in the World but a VVitch: And on the other hand, their taking place in Witches, through all parts of the World, must proceed from a common, and not from a peculiar Humour or Cause.

The *specifick Aptitude*, of some of the nicest of the *Indicia*, which appeared from the Probation already led, to discover a Witch, do serve to clear the ground of the Worlds Observation concerning them. Particularly the Devil, as Aping God, imprints a Sacrament of his Covenant: Besides that, commonly this mark being given at the first Meeting, does by its intollerable Pain, force the Witch to a second Randevouz for curing it, at which the poor wretch being under this furious necessity, fixes the Paction by renewing it with Deliberation, having been diverted in the mean time from considering the Horridness of the first Engagement by the Pain. The inability to shed Tears may be a Characteristick of Hardening, tho' not always in the case of Christians; yet in these who have ceased to be such; lest the Devil giving them such words of Scripture and Prayer as many have, it should be impossible to discover their Hypocrisy; and that is not Satan's own interest, since by this Discovery occasion is given to Buffoon the Profession of Holiness. A Report often arises without ground, but a Constant Report that keeps footing, implyes for the most part a surer Cause; especially when it is of Persons below Envy; and by Persons above Calumny. The Girls falling in fits at the approach of the Prisoners might proceed from Antipathie, arising from the poisonous Steems of the Witch accustom'd to produce that Effect through a vertue affixed thereunto by the Devil, by Conjunction of natural Causes (the same way as the invisible Pestilence does operat) or his promise of casting the Girl in Fits at the Witches presence, might have been General; whereby the Witch was eventually befooled and discovered, as it often falls out: For Satan envies even their temporal Felicity, and fears lest by continuing here, they should be pluck'd out of his hands by Conversion: When they come to perceive the Delusion of his Promises to make them Rich and the like, *&c*.

There was one thing further, which was Tried before your Lordships, *viz*. None of the Prisoners that were Tried (tho most Sagacious and Knowing, and perfect in Memory, so that it could not proceed from Ignorance or Forgetfulness) could make out the attempt of saying the Lord's Prayer; which may either be a Secret Judgment for Renouncing their first Lord,

from

from whom it is peculiarly Denominated; or by Reſtraint of their New Lord, who may think that too ſpecial an Homage to his Adverſary. But we have hindered you too long with that which is not neceſſary: For this being incontravertible Law and Cuſtom, there needs no Phyloſophy to ſupport it: Since Legiſlators do Reaſon, but Subjects muſt Obey: And both the Fool and the Lazie (who have neither Read nor Thought enough to underſtand this Subject) are to be left to their own Chimera's: Yet leaſt they ſhould Inſult, we ſhall Anſwer in their faſhion, ſuch of the Objections as the Priſoners Advocate thought any ways worthy to be repeated in this place.

Whereas it is objected, that *Delrio Sect.* 5. *Seſſ.* 4. ſays, That *Socii* are not to be admitted Witneſſes *ad condemnandum*; eſpecially conſidering, that the Probation ought to be *luce meridiana clarior.*

It is Anſwered, That the place it ſelf confutes this Inference in the preſent Caſe: For it ſays, *Ex his ſolis non eſt procedendum ad condemnationem, ſcio contrarium communius teneri & in praxi obtinere*, &c. So that it is evident, *Firſt.* That the common Opinion and Cuſtom is in the contrary, even when there is no other probation, but by the Partners of the Crime. Yet, *Secondly*, We are not ſo ſtraitned, but ſubſume in his very words, *ex his ſolis*, we do not deſire the Priſoners ſhould be Condemned; but your Lordſhips ſee theſe Witneſſes we are to adduce, are not *ſoli*, or *alone*; for the Probation led theſe laſt Sixteen hours, are ſo many *Concomitants* and Diſcoveries of Providence, which aſtruct and make up any defect in their Credit that can be deſiderat. Hence, *Thirdly*, The meaning of that Maxim (which is Metaphorical, as appears by the words, *Clarior luce meridiana*, an Equal Clearneſs being ſufficient) is fully Anſwered, and takes place in the preſent Caſe; For the Extraordinarineſs of the *Corpora delicti*, Pregnancy of the Preſumptions, and Punctualneſs of the poſitive Probation, being conjoyned; there is not a clearer Proof upon Record in any Nation, than that to which, 'tis hoped, theſe will amount.

Whereas this Allegation is enforced, by pretending it were of dangerous conſequence to allow ſuch Witneſſes to prove Meeting with the Devil, ſince Satan might have repreſented others by their *Falſe ſhapes.*

It is Anſwered.

Firſt. That we are not ſtraitned in this; becauſe there are many Articles proven, which could not have been falſifyed. But if we give ſome ſcope to Reaſoning, even in this Point, it is to be conſidered, that the Rules of Judgement are eſtabliſhed upon that, which, for the moſt part, does ſtill obtain; and Rules are to be followed, till an Exception be Proven in a particular circumſtantiat Caſe. But ſo it is, by the Experience and Obſervation of the Wiſeſt Divines, Lawyers, Philoſophers, Phyſicians, States-men, Judges and Hiſtorians, at Home and Abroad (that are too wiſe to be impoſed upon, and too Ingenuous to deceive us, when they all concur in the ſame matter of Fact) beſide the Teſtimony of Witches themſelves every where; makes the Apparitions of Withes to be commonly and moſtly real; ſo *Delrio* tells us, *lib.* 5. *Sect.* 16. *Illuſi rariſſime contingit, ita Jaquerias, Comenſis, Sprengirus Bienfeldus*, &c. And therefore the Teſtimony of the Senſes is always to be credited concerning them, until it be diſprov'd. For ſingle or few Inſtances of Falſe Repreſentations to the Senſes eſteeming them to be true, or a poſſibility of Appearances being falſe, can no ways Invalidat the Rule eſtabliſhed upon Experience, which is common, and for the moſt part, whereby no Exception is to be proven in a Special Caſe; ſince a Wonder does not ſubvert the Proof drawn from the common courſe of Nature; Logick admits not to argue a *Particulari*, or from Poſſibility to Exiſtence; Law puts the burden of proving *Simulation* on the Affirmer, and that which ſeldom occurrs, is not conſidered by the Legiſlators.

For Illuſtrating of which, it is further to be conſidered, that for the moſt part and ordinarily, the Witches are Perſonally exiſtent in the places where they appear; becauſe it's more eaſie for the Prince of the Air to tranſport them in his Hurricanes which he can raiſe, as is plain in the inſtance of *Job* (who was put in his power, *i. e.* his *natural Power* without Delegation) forming a *Fence* upon their Face, whereby the violence of the Air may be diverted from choking them: Than to form the curious *Miniature* of ſuch various Tranſactions on their Brain: The Difficulty whereofis the greater, that all their *Fantaſies* are not diſpoſed at all times the ſame way; and they have not the Seeds of this Work, unleſs they had once acted it in reality. It is both the greater Crime and Pleaſure to act in reality, which therefore the Devil and Witches do rather chuſe (unleſs the Place be far diſtant, or the Party indiſpoſed) and this *de facto* is atteſted to be ſo, by the Writers and Witches in all Nations and Ages.

Secondly. Notwithstanding that the Rule must hold, till an Exception of Exculpation be evinced, as to a particular Person, by Evidencing, that the real Appearance was in that special Case a true Mistake; yet this Exception is sufficient for safety of the Misrepresented; since the same Providence which permitted the Affliction, will order the Out-gate and Exculpation; either by the Aerial Bodies not abyding the Touch, or some other distinction, as Providence commonly allowes the Devil to Personate only with Cloven Feet, or that the Apparition was solely to one Single Witness, who cannot be a Proof; or that the Innocent can prove *alibi*; or Finally, the known Character of a *Samuel*, will purge and dispel the Aspersions of Satan, contrived on purpose to discredit the Evidence of Sense, by which alone his Instruments can be discovered. Especially this Character being joyned to the other Circumstances of the Providence; such as when Good Men are Disguised, they are mostly passive in the Scene and Presumptions. Whereas Witches are Personally active in their common Life by such Words and Deeds, as (in conjunction with these Appearances) conspire to make us know, and distinguish them from the truely Good; since these Witches open *Profanity*, *Naughtiness*, or *Unvailed Hypocrisy*, being cleared by Fame, sealed by the Mark, and confirmed by the other discoveries of the Presumptions that ly proven before you, do still make a Land-mark betwixt the Children of Darkness and Light. So *Delrio*, *lib.* 5. *Sect.* 16. *N.* 5. tells of *Athanasius* and St. *Germanus*, against whom Probation was adduced for *Sorcery*, but Providence did disprove it. It's a famous instance of *Susanna*, represented by the Elders; which, though not in the Case of *Spectre*, yet agrees in the *Rationale*. The Representation by *Pharo*'s Magicians had *Concomitants*, by which they were discovered and confounded. But Lastly, suppose that GOD, in the Depth of his Wisdom (to Convince the Error of too much Self Confidence) should permit all necessary Probation to concur against an Innocent Person; yet the Judge, following the Faith of Proofs, Established by Divine and Humane Laws, is altogether Innocent: And since this Case is very Rare, the Evil is less than the Establishing a Principle, by which most of all these Monsters could not be cut off.

Upon the whole, It is certain, That tho' oft-times False Witnesses set on by the Devil, have taken away an harmless Life, by accusing it of Crimes; yet the Testimony of Witnesses must still be credited, till they be made Evident: so these Appearances of Witches, with the other Specialties before expreſt, being Proven, ought to be esteemed Real, till the Fallacy be made Evident. Especially seeing there are Examples in ancient and Modern History of Satan's Representing the best of Men, as committing *Murther*, *Buggrie*, &c. *in effigie*; so *Delrio*, *lib.* 5. *Sect.* 16. *N.* 5. relates, That St. *Silvanus* was represented by the Devil, as committing a Common Capital Crime: And the like of a Monk: Whereof there are several Modern Parallel Instances; yet this cannot enervate the Rule and Faith of Publick Judicatures, founded on no more but upon the sight of the like Appearances; and any Argument against the Probation in Witchcraft, will equally hold against the Probation of any other Crime whatsoever: Wherefore the Rules of them both must be common, as to believing the Senses fortified, *ut supra*; till their Error be Individually discovered.

Finally, the Certainty is noways diminished by the Extraordinariness of the Appearance to the Senses: For in Law and Nature Reality and not Simulation is presumed, till the contrary be made appear by proving the thing not possible in Nature, or tho' it be possible, that it is actually false. This is answer enough to those who place a great part of their small Wit in a nonsensical arguing against all Divine Authority: But writers further illustrate that the extraordinariness of a Matter of Fact, does not exclude its Reality from being the Subject of the Testimony of VVitnesses, in our Saviours Miracles, Transfiguration, VValking on the VVaters, standing in the midst of the Disciples while the Doors were shut, and arguing Assurance by their Senses, That a Spirit had not Flesh and Bones, tho' indeed the surer VVord of prophesie did put these beyond doubt.

Nor could it be alledged for the Prisoners (tho they had the last word, as perhaps they have not, in Objections against Witnesses, since therein *rei fiunt actores* by attacqing the presumed hability, or *Legality* of the VVitnesses) That its not conceiveable, how the Girl or VVitnesses could see what the *Bystanders could not behold*: Besides the impossibility of the real Bodies entering at *closs Doors and Windows*, or not intercepting the sight of what is at its back.

For to this it would be answered.

[illegible] must not be denyed, tho' Philosophers have not yet certainy reached the

Invisible

Invisible manner of their Existence: So in Nature, the Load-stone draws the Iron, the Compass turns always to the Poles, &c. In Scripture the Angels (and the Devil was once such, retaining as yet his *Natural Powers*) smote the *Sodomites*, that they could not *see the Door*; tho they saw the *House*. *Balaam's* Ass perceived the Angel that stood undiscover'd to himself; and the *Rod* thrown down by the Magicians of *Egypt*, was no doubt, seen by themselves, tho' Invisible to the By-standers. VVhich *holding of their eyes*, Interpreters explain to have been done by Natural Means; and yet the Manner thereof is certainly difficult.

However, it is also certain, that if a possible way can be proposed, the Reality of a proved Fact is not to be Contradicted: And this can be done in the present Case: For,

Secondly. Satan's *Natural* Knowledge, and *Acquired* Experience, makes him perfect in the *Opticks* and *Limning*: Besides that, as a *Spirit*, he excels in Strength and Agility; whereby he may easily Bewitch the Eyes of others, to whom he intends that his Instruments should not be seen, in this manner, as was formerly hinted, *viz.* He constricts the Pores of the VVitches Vehicle, which intercepts a part of the Rayes reflecting from her Body; he Condenses the Interjacent Air, with grosser Meteors blown into it, or otherwayes does violently move it, which drowns another part of the Rayes: And Lastly, He obstructs the Optick Nerves with Humors stirred toward them: All which joyned together, may easily intercept the whole Rayes reflecting from these Bodies, so as to make no Impression upon the common Sense; and yet at the same time, by Refraction of the Rayes, glyding along the Fitted sides of the Volatile Couch, wherein Satan transports them, and thereby meeting and coming to the Eye, as if there were nothing interjacent, the VVall, or Chair, behind the same Bodies, may be seen; as a piece of Money lying out of sight in a Cup, becomes visible, so soon as the Medium is altered by pouring some VVater on it. Several of your number do know, that the Girle declared, That she saw and heard the Doors and VVindows open at the VVitches entry, when, no doubt, the Devil had precondensed a soft stoppage on the Eyes and Ears of others, to whom that was unperceiv'd.

So *Apolinus* escaped *Domitian's sight*; and *Giges* became invisible by his Magical Ring. *John* of *Salisbury* tells us of a VVitch, that could make any thing not to be seen: and *Mejerus* mentions another, that had the like power. Some *Italian* VVitches of greater then ordinary wit confessed to *Grillandus*, the *Devils* opening Doors and Windows for them, tho the more Ignorant, by a Fascination, think themselves actors of this. Whence it ought not to be doubted, by any reasonable *Man*, what in all Times and Places is so uncontestible Fact.

Finally, The Prisoners could not insist, that those Confessants are to Depone only on their *Imagination*. which can prove no more against themselves, or others, than a *Dream*.

For still its to be minded, that there are other Proofs to which this is only necessary, as a Consonant Circumstance. But further, *Arg. causa*, It is answered, That the Allegation is a mistake; seeing they declare plain Matters of Fact, obvious not only to one, but to several of their Senses, *viz.* Some of them went the greatest part of the way to these Meetings on Foot: they there Saw and Touched their Confederates; they heard their Combinations to Destroy and Torture the Infants, the Girle and the Ministers: They returned on Foot again: and even when they were carried thither, or back again, they knew, on the next day, that it was no Dream, by the same way as all other Mortals discover the difference. But moreover, this is Confirmed by some real effects of a Personal Presence, as you have seen in the Probation: And it is yet further cleared by the Journal of *Bargarrens* Daughters Sufferings; which was Attested before the former Commissioners, and is known in the Country; particularly the Glass of *Sack*, and *Orange Pile*; the Pieces of the Clouted Sleeves; the words expressed on the sudden Murther of the Child, by the *Woman* that looked after it, which are constantly told by some of the Confessants; as also the Houses being Strewed with Meal that Night. The Girle, tho Hood-wink'd, her falling in Fits at their approach, &c. And others, which shall be pointed at to the Jury, conjoyned together, can be ascribed to no other cause then the Real existence of the Witches Persons in the place: Unless it be said, That Satan might possibly have foisted and suborned all those; and thence it be concluded, that the Devil did actually so, in which case the Objecters are the Persons that found their Opinion on Imagination, without any positive ground of the reality of what they fancy; yea, against positive grounds, of belief in the contrary; which arguing from Possibility to Existence, is already sufficient exploded.

Whereas, for strengthning the Objection it is alledged, That the Confessants having been in the Devils Service, and Renounced Christ, they are not capable of the Religion of an Oath.

It is Answered,

First. In the Rules of Charity, &c. The Confessants, tho once Witches, have now, at least the Majority of them, ceased to be such, having had the use of Means, by the Ministers and Word, and actually declared their Repentance, and the Devils ceasing to molest them; particularly *Elizabeth Anderson* was only carried along violently by her Father, and stood out, to the last, Renouncing of her Batism, or consenting to those Crimes which were contrived in their Meetings. *Janet* and *Margaret Rodgers* do testifie a great Remorse, and Avowed the same last Sabbath in the Face of the Congregation. So those three are sufficient, whatever might be said against the other two, especially if we joyn the Improbability, either of hazarding their own Lives, or the Devils sending them out against these Prisoners, or their destroying their own Relations; as was remarked before. But,

Secondly. Whether they remain Witches or not; It is certain, by Reason and Experience, that the Devils Peculiar Influence ceaseth when they are brought to Judgment: by the common course of Providence: And therefore the Authors before cited admit Witches whether Penitent or not.

Thirdly. All the supposed defects of their Evidence is supplied, and the Intireness thereof compleated, by their Testimonies being so wonderfully Confirmed; particularly the Confessants are constant from the first discovery; Uniform in such various Circumstances, not only with themselves, but with the Girle: They declare nothing but what is probable, most of the Prisoners having been reputed Witches, all of them having the Mark; and one or other of them, (to whom their Associates who delighted in Mischief, never failed to joyn) having had particular Provocations to take revenge by the Torture and Deaths mentioned: Besides, the other Presumptions of Guilt already proven before you. The Confessants were threatned to Retract by the Prisoners Themselves and their Friends: Besides the bad Usage from others in the Countrey. They concurr with the Bewitched Girles Testimony, and amongst themselves, even when examin'd singly: and upon new things: as several of your number have tryed the Experiment: on this head *Delrio, lib.* 5. *Sect.* 16. *N.* 5. wisely observes, *Quamvis tam facile foret demoni plures decipere quam unum tamen non est censendus Deus hoc æque permittere ne omnis ratio probandi talia delicta occulta judicibus adimatur; hoc enim est dissentaneum providentiæ divinæ.* The Reiteration of the Acts which they declare, as to some Persons that they never saw, except in these Congresses, and yet whom they knew now on the first sight, is unaccountable, if they were Cheats: And that they are not such is further confirm'd by some of the Prisoners being Accused, by a Confessing Witch in *Anno* 1687. And you know that others accus'd by these Confessants, were lately brought in Guilty by the *Verdict* of a former Inquest, &c. which are so many joynt proofs of the *Witnesses* Integrity, and make a Chain of Evidence and Moral Demonstration both against Error in themselves, and Delusion, in Relation to others, &c.

There were some things objected from the Law of *Scotland*, of which also I shall give you a touch.

Whereas it was alledged, That *Irretiti Criminibus Capitalibus*, those who are Indicted for Capital Crimes, and so under the Pursuers Power, cannot be admitted to be *Witnesses*; Conform to a Statute in *Regiam Majestatem.*

To this it was answered, That we need not say, that these statutes have not the force of Law, except in so far as they are received by Custom; and are conformable to Law. A Laick cannot Witness against a Clerk, or *e contra*, &c. Nor need we make use of that which is Obvious, *viz.* That these Statutes are only common Rules in ordinary Crimes; which have their Exception in all Occult and excepted Crimes, such as Witchcraft, &c. *Nam omnis regula subverti potest*, and particularly this Rule is actually so restricted in the Case of Witchcraft, by the Opinion of Lawyers and the Customes before-mentioned, which are the best *interpreters* of Laws: For if this Application should hold, a *socius criminis* could never be admitted: But we positively deny, that those Confessants are under our Power or Influence; seeing *Elizabeth Anderson* is not Guilty of Witchcraft, for any thing that does appear: The *Lindsays* were never indicted for it; and the Inditement against *Janet* and *Margaret Rogers* was drop'd; as the whole Commission is to Expire against the first of *June*, betwixt and which time, they are to proceed no further then this particular Trial. So that this Objection vanishes into smoak.

Whereas it is pretended, That the *Rogers*'s cannot be received, because not given out in the List of Witnesses; conform to the Regulation, whereby the Prisoners might have proven their Objection by their Exculpation.

It was answered, *1st.* This Objection ought to be rejected; because, besides that the Act speaks only of Criminal Libells, and not Indictments, which with the List of the Witnesses may be given in far shorter time than the Additional List has been given to the Prisoners indited, being Prisoners: This Act is interpreted by the common Custom of the Justice Court; of giving additional Lists after the first, upon shorter time then this has been given: As is particularly attested by *James Guthry* Macer, who gave them, and being a Person *in Officio*, his Testimony is to be Credited in what relates to his Office: so that the old Custom confirmed by a Decision, *August 3d.* 1661. where *Alexander Forrester* was cited *apud acta* against a VVitch, continues as to this point, as is related by *McKenzie, pag.* 529. But *2dly.* Any Objection that the Prisoners pretend against these Witnesses, is *in jure*, or may instantly appear. *3dly.* The Case is altogether extraordinary and Circumstantiat: For these Witnesses had not Confessed: And so were not existent under that Reduplication when the principal List was given out: whereby the Act of Parliament can only be understood of Witnesses, that were then existent. And finally the Prisoners got a general warrand of Exculpation for citing of any Witnesses they pleased, and they have had several Days since they got this additional List, so that they might have cited Witnesses to prove their Objections, were it not the truth is, they have none, besides these that are common and before Answered.

Thus I have given you hints that your own Reason (which I know to be refin'd) may improve and apply, so as to dissolve the quibles which the *petty witts*, who have not Soul enough of themselves to penetrate into the depth of that which is abstruse may raise against it: It being their common Talent either to Skipp over things Superficially, or else to Attaque some of the slightest outworks, and then to Triumph as if they had obtain'd the Victory.

I must confess that none could be more sceptical as to the Truth of such odd things as I had heard; nor inquisitive for canvassing the Reality, and Explications of them, then I was before my attendance at *Bargarrans* House, and the several dyets of Court; and my Conversation with some of those concerned in the matter. But now, after all that I have seen, reasoned, and heard; I do acknowledge may self entirely captivated by the dictats of Natural understanding and common Sense, into a firm belief and perswasion, that, as there is such a thing as Witchcraft, so it was eminent in its forementioned Effects; and that the seven Prisoners were some of the Witches.

I have troubled you little with my own Observations; yet lest you should think me too Lazy, I shall make one, and that is, that I do not think the greater part of the condemned Prisoners will ever fully Confess: For which Conjecture I have two grounds, *viz.* That they are neither Ignorant nor Melancholick; but on the contrary, some of them would seem to have been once enlightned before they fell away, so that if this be a Sin unto Death, there is no appearance that they will glorify God by Confession.

Several of them are persons of singular Knowledge and Acuteness beyond the common level of their Station: Particularly *Margaret Lang* did make Harangues in her own defence, which neither Divine nor Lawyer could well out-do: Yet I thought that when they spoke in a matter of any concern, their Eyes stood Squint and Fixed, as if they had been turning their Ears and attending to some invisible Dictator. Their answers to the trying Questions put to them, were Surprisingly subtile and Cautious: Tho indeed, by the Industry of some of the Judges and Lawyers, they were sometimes catch'd in Lyes, Prevarications, and Contradictions; which might have proceeded either from Natural or perternatural Causes. Some of them were esteemed in the Country to be very Sagacious and Exact in their Business: *Margaret Lang* having been a noted Midwife, and one of the *Lindsays* having acquired a considerable Fortune by his Tillage and Trade: Yet it was observed, that there did commonly break out in their Hypocritical way of Living, something Odd either of Iniquity or Affectation; and *Lindsay* did cunningly enough get off from the Sheriff when he was formerly accused in 1687.

Melancholy persons are lovers of Solitude; Witches of Society, and Feasts: Those are commonly Pale and Heavy; many of these Corpulent and Voluptuous Witches are Hard to Confess as knowing their Guilt; The Melancholy delight to discover their horridest Damps, because they think them no Crime: The Confessions of the One are every where Uniform; the others Phantasms are as various as their Humours. Finally, Witches teach their Trade; whereas Conceits would Dye with the Melancholy; and can no more be conveyed by them to others then the Humour which is the Specifick cause thereof. As these distinguishing Characters do

old in the General, ſo in this particular Caſe there are ſeveral others: Such as, moſt of the Priſoners were of Middle-age, one of them not much above Twenty; and the firſt Confeſſants are known to be Young: So that Dotage or Melancholly are the leſs to be ſuſpected; yea was morally impoſſible in many of their Caſes. For the Facts which the Confeſſants had formerly declared before the Commiſſioners for Enquiry, were ſworn to by other unexceptionable Witneſſes before the Commiſſioners for the Trial; and their Circumſtances were ſuch, that one of em could not know what was to be deponded by the other: As it's already manifeſt, that the real Effects in ſeveral paſſages of *Bargarrans* Daughter were not poſſibly producible by any Imagination or Humour; and it is ſpecial in this Caſe, that neither the Priſoners nor Confeſſants were Diſtempered by being kept from Sleep, Tortured, or the like, which were too uſual in former times; but all the Meaſures were ſtrictly obſerved, that are requiſits to a truly Impartial Judgment.

I needed not inſert the Copies of the Depoſitions themſelves: Becauſe it is not deny'd that they are ſuch as repreſented in the Pleadings; the chief queſtion being about the Legality of the laſt Deponents. Nor is there any need to inſert the Defendants part of the Debate, ſeperately by it ſelf; in reſpect that it is faithfully repeated or implied in what you have here ſent you,

Upon the whole I do believe; that there is ſcarcely a more remarkable Providence of this Nature to be found in any true Hiſtory; nor was there ever a more exact Caution in any enquiry or Trial of this kind: A more clear Probation, without Confeſſion of the Priſoners themſelves, or, a more juſt Sentence, putting together all Circumſtances, upon Record.

I am, what you have made me,

Yours, &c.

F I N I S.

Jo
Lo